National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. Without Concealment---Without Compromise. EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, } Corresponding Editors.

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APPREHENSION OF RUNAWAY NEGROES—CONDUCT OF ABOLITIONISTS IN ILLINOIS.

If the people of Illinois have ground of complaint against the citizens of Missouri on any score whatever, certainly we have good reason to complain of their conduct in interfering with, and destroying the value of property guaranteed to us by the Constitution, and which, if not tampered with and corrupted by Abolitionists, would feel no desire to leave their homes. Almost every day our slaves are induced, by the persuasions of Abolitionists, to abandon comfortable homes, and to entrust themselves to the tender mercies of pretended friends, who are sure to fleece them of all their money before they quit them. We published yesterday a telegraph dispatch from Quincy, Ill., announcing the *stampede of fifty slaves*, in one company, from the county of Lewis, and no one will doubt that they were aided in their escape by citizens of Illinois. Of the desperation of these men—the unblushing effrontery with which they act, even to the commission of perjury—we proceed to present a case which has just occurred.

Four slaves, the property of Messrs. E. Block, McCune, Glasby, and Pittman, ranaway from their homes in this city on Saturday night, a week ago. They went up the river to the head of Gabourie Island; crossed over to the Island, and from thence were assisted in getting to the Illinois shore by white men, whose names have not been furnished us. One of the runaways, belonging to Mr. Pittman was left there, being lame, to make what progress he could, and is yet at large. The others started for Alton, passed that city, and were arrested eight miles beyond Alton, in Jersey county, by Wm. R. Bowmar and brother. The slaves were put in the jail of Jerseyville on Monday, and Mr. Bowmar left for St. Louis, to inform the owners of their apprehension. They immediately proceeded to Jerseyville and arrived there on Tuesday night, when they found that an Abolitionist, named E. J. Palmer, had made oath that the slaves in question were free men, and falsely imprisoned, and not, as alleged, slaves. Upon his oath, a writ of *habeas corpus* was issued, directed, not to the Judge of the Circuit Court in Madison county, to which they could easily return, but to the Judge of the Circuit Court at Beardstown, a distance of seventy-five miles on the route which the negroes and their allies were to take, in making their escape. This they expected, and attempted to do on the way.

On the arrival of the owners at Jerseyville, they found that the company had left a few hours before for Carrolton, in custody of the Deputy Sheriff, Mr. Cheney. This officer was forced to leave in a hurry, and was also compelled to make use of a weapon or carriage belonging to Isaac Snedeker, a noted Abolitionist, who drove the team. It was represented to the Abolitionists, that the owners of the slaves would be there in a few hours, to prove and reclaim their property, but this was urged as a good reason for getting off as speedily as possible. When leaving Jerseyville, the Abolitionists indulged in loud huzzas and glorified the habeas corpus law. They reached Carrolton at 10 o'clock at night, and when just entering the town the Abolitionist driver gave he whip to his team intending to drive through the town without stopping, end thus get clear with the slaves. But it so happened, that the former Sheriff of the county, Mr. Silleway, was along, and he seized the reins and stopped the vehicle. The Abolitionist, Snedeker, then ordered the negroes to seize Silleway, and hold him, until they could get through the town, but they failed to do it.

The negroes were committed to the jail in Carrolton that night. Meanwhile, the officer determined to get rid of his Abolition driver and team, and to take the negroes to Columbiana, on the Illinois river, and thence to Beardstown by boat; but the owners arrived early next morning, and they concluded to go by land. The slaves, with the fellow Palmer, who had caused the writ to issue, were brought before Judge Woodson, of the Circuit Court, then in session, and an immediate hearing was granted. David A. Smith, and Murry McConnell, members of the bar, were retained by Palmer as counsel for the negroes, and the defendants in the case employed Judge Brown and Mr. H. E. Dummer as their counsel. On the part of the slaves, it was contended, that the proceedings in the case were illegal; and the defendants admitted the illegality. But before the decision of the Judge was pronounced, Mr. Smith proceeded to make an inflammatory abolition speech, not intended for the benefit of the Court, but addressed to the multitude who crowded the house. He quoted the Declaration of Independence, about all men being born free and equal, &c. Among other things, he said that citizens of Missouri had been in the habit of coming to Illinois, and taking free people of color—men born free—carrying them to Missouri and selling them, and making fortunes by it. He complained of the defendants in this case, that they were forcing a trial in a summary manner, without giving his clients an opportunity of proving their freedom. When so great a question was at issue, time ought to be allowed, &c. It will be observed, that it was the Abolitionists who had sued out the habeas corpus—that they were forcing a trial, at a distant point, and refusing to give time for the arrival of the owners of the property.

Judge Brown replied to Smith in very appropriate and indignant terms. He referred to that part of his harrangue in which Smith admitted that his address was not intended for the Court, and said that he supposed he was addressing a town meeting, for the purpose of exciting the sympathies of the people; that such speeches were calculated to create strife and bad feeling between citizens of sister States and ought not to be indulged. Smith, in explanation, said that his remarks in relation to the stealing of free negroes &c., were not intended for the parties in this case whom he understood to be honorable men.

Judge Woodson then remarked that, as the defendants admitted that the proceeding was illegal, he must discharge the persons from custody; but if they had not done so, he should have directed their commitment to jail, there to remain and be proceeded with according to law. The costs of the proceeding were adjudged to be paid by the Abolitionists; and then it was found out that they had taken from the negroes every dollar of money, under pretence of employing lawyers, fees, &c. A pretty set of scoundrel-philanthropists, of a certainty!

The owners of the slaves, on their discharge under the habeas corpus, took them before a justice of the Peace in Beardstown, established their right to them, put them on board a boat, and brought them home.

Among others assisting in the escape of these men, was a *free negro* by the name of Bill Williams, an old offender in this kind of work. He conveyed them off, travelled with them, went to jail with them, and was discharged at Beardstown with them. He has been brought back, and is now confined in the caloboose. He has made a full confession of all the facts of the case, and will likely go to the penitentiary for his trouble. Capt. Dewitt, of the steamer Daniel Hillman, arrived at Beardstown about the conclusion of the proceedings, and he at once recognized Bill Williams as the fellow who, about a month since, on his boat ran off three slaves belonging to Col. Norcom. Capt. Dewitt, returned the slave and Bill to the calaboose in St. Louis, in charge of one of his men, and he was surprised on finding him so soon at his work again.

It is due to the mass of the citizens of Carrolton, Whitehall, Jacksonville and Beardstown, to say that they expressed decided dissatisfaction with the proceedings of these Abolitionists, and such is, most probably, the general feeling; but the class of fanatics is so numerous as to maks it exceedingly difficult for our citizens to reclaim their slaves when once they are in their clutches in Illinois.

The Lewis County Rumaways all Captured—Their Leader Killed.—A Telegraph dispatch from Quincy, Illinois, dated yesterday, says:

"The negroes who started from Lewis County Missouri, night before last, were overtaken yesterday, and held at bay for four hours! They were finally captured, after their leader had been killed. He was a man belonging to Mr. Miller."—*St. Louis Republican.*

SLAVES IN MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE.

To the Editor of the Eagle:

Mr. Carrell: I witnessed a scene on Tuesday in the streets of Memphis, so illegal, and so mischievous in its tendencies, as affecting the proper relations between the servant and the master, and between the servant and the welfare of our society, that I consider it important to make it public, as well as to allnde to other causes of mischief seriously injuring the value of our slaves to their masters, and which call loudly for speedy abatement. The scene was this:

On the corner of Main and Madison streets, a public auctioneer was crying a mule for sale to a crowd of some forty persons, near one half of whom were slaves, several slaves bidding, and the competition being mainly, if not wholly, between the slaves; the auctioneer addressed himself particularly to them. I was greatly surprised to witness this, and kindly spoke to the auctioneer, (a friend whom I esteem to be an excellent man and a good citizen,) asking him if he did not know he was violating the laws, and doing great mischief, in thus trading with slaves. He seemed not to be aware of the wrong, and thought if there was anything improper in it, it was in their masters who permitted or sent them there to do it. I told him he should send the slaves off about their business, or to tell their masters, if they wanted to buy, to come themselves or send some white person; that he was prohibited by law, as well as a duty he owed to the community, to keep servants in their proper places.

The loose condition of our slave population in Memphis, has actually become a source, not only of great trouble to their owners and to the community, but one of uneasiness and *apprehension*. And it is this unlawful intolerance, and this loose and improper indulgence of their masters, that is producing it. They are suffered to hire their own time, and in many instances to become masters of other slaves, by hiring them of their masters—one of the most gross and mischievous violations of the law that could well be tolerated. We see them fighting and wrangling in the streets, while crowds of white people stand and listlessly gaze at them, or take sides with them. They roll through the city in their carriages and buggies on a Sabbath day, expensively dressed, when gentlemen are unable in consequence to get similar accommodation at some of our public stables. Far be it from me to recommend that slaves should not receive the very kindest treatment, and all the indulgences their situation will bear, consistent with their own and the public good—but these considerations should never be lost sight of, as they certainly are, by many masters in Memphis.

Another source of evil to our slaves, and out of which grows the greatest mischief to them, is the encouragement and permission of *free negro haunts* in our city. There are many, both male and female, and they should all be suppressed. They are holes of seduction and iniquity to our slaves, who frequent them, and it is here where they learn discontent, disobedience, gambling, drinking, and all other vices. Many of these free negro places are harbors for thieves and stolen goods, and it is here where servants are first induced to steal and sell their stolen property.

The black washerwomen, whether free or bond, should not be permitted to keep house of themselves, as many now do: they are filled with vice and evil to the slave population, and spread discontent among them, as well as a desire to be half-free also, as those black house-keepers are. In conclusion, we venture the remark that there is no community in the South where the slaves are so bold and unrestricted as in Memphis. And unless they are restrained, and speedily, and confined more to their proper sphere, we may soon expect more unpleasant things than now exist. It is notorious, and the remark is made every day by those who have experienced its truth, that Memphis is the best place in the world to ruin good servants. They are entrusted too far—farther than they can stand the test, when evil to their masters and themselves is the result. I hope, sir, that these remarks may do some good. To masters, as well as our city authorities. Let the laws be strictly enforced, especially against all white persons, and there are many, who unlawfully tamper with our slaves, by trading with them, and making drunkards of them. This is a source of no inconsiderable mischief, and should be suppressed. The vicinity and purlieus of our city has become also, as it were, a vast den for runaways—from afar as well as near—and there is scarcely a week that they are not seen secreted or heard prowling about us; and it is the facilities afforded them by the free blacks and slaves of our city, who are more than half free, and the rest of evil, that attacks them here. They must, for their own good, as well as for the safety of society, be kept in their proper sphere—and those *white* persons, who fraternize with, and corrupt them, should be dealt with in the full severity of the law for such infractions. Our safety demands it.

L.

Selections.

We give below a number of extracts of Southern papers representing the conservative side on the Disunion question:—

THE UNION OF THE STATES.

Far from intending to underrate the blessings which have flowed from that institution, we have always esteemed them not only great, but absolutely inappreciable. Our affections, due in the first instance to the State which gave us birth, are yet, we hope, expansive enough to include in a warm embrace all that vast and flourishing territory, of which it forms an integral part. We have been accustomed to regard its growing prosperity with the eyes not of Virginians alone, but of Americans. We feel proud of the Union, of the whole Union, and of every part and particle of it, separately and collectively. The unrivalled commerce of New York, the superhuman energy of Boston, the amazing productiveness of Louisiana, the marvellous developments of California, have ever been to us, as they should be to every man in whose bosom beats an American heart, objects of intense gratification. We have been accustomed from infancy, to regard with a reverence amounting almost to idolatry, the proud bird of freedom, whose expanded wings overshadow a continent. The memory of the mutual toils of our fathers, and of the triumphs which grew out of them—the recollection of an hundred victories and an hundred defeats—the glory of those great names which freedom will never permit to die—the unaccountable progress of our common country—all these things rise before us, whenever we think upon this subject.

Where in the history of the whole world shall we find anything comparable to the progress which America has made under her present form of Government? But thirty-seven years ago, an English Statesman, the most renowned of his day, rose in the House of Commons, and declared, that in the event of a war with us, the mighty navy of Britain would sweep our half dozen fir-built frigates from the ocean in a week. Long afterwards—whenever occasion arose to speak of us—we were passed over in a sneering and contemptuous manner, as though we were a power which it was scarcely necessary to take into the estimate when calculating the strength of the world. Can any American, without a glow of unalloyed pride, observe the very different tone in which we are spoken of now? It has become the custom to rank us among the great nations of the earth.—Far before them in every thing that appertains to the knowledge of self-government, even in the element of power, we are classed with Russia, with France, and with England; while in the honest pride of his heart, the American believes his country a fair match for them all, in the full combination of their gigantic strength. Can an American be otherwise than proud of that form of Government which has wrought such marvels.

While contemplating with intense satisfaction the great things which our Union has already affected, we have been accustomed to look forward to the future with even greater delight. Other nations have attained the *ne plus ultra* of prosperity. The mighty energies of Great Britain have been exerted to the uttermost; France, it is fair to presume, will never occupy that station among the nations of the earth, which distinguished her during the reign of Napoleon; Austria and Prussia have within them the seeds of certain destruction; the despotism of the Czar, embracing so many nations who abhor the Russian name, and kept in existence by the force of military law, must melt before the advance of civilization, as the ice palace of his native Neva, crumbles beneath the heat of a summer's sun. To all these Nations, the future is a land of gloom—to us it is a land of promise. We have yet but entered on our career. The evidences which we have already given of energy and enterprise, are but as the promising dispositions of the child. They indicate but faintly, the powers of the full grown man. What we shall be when we shall have attained our legitimate growth—when the territory which we now possess shall have been filled, not as the countries of Europe are filled, but as New York or Massachusetts is—when the parts of our immense empire, teeming with population shall have been united into a solid mass by improvements spread out like a web in every direction—when a mighty thoroughfare connecting the Oceans, which wash the shores of this Continent, shall groan beneath the trade of the East—when India and China, shall seek to vent their treasures through the outlet which we offer them—when a vast fleet of steamers, bristling with the engines of war, shall have grown up on the Pacific, equally ready to defend the immense cities which Commerce shall have already built upon its shores, or to land in India, in the event of war, an army, which the population of the West can swell to the size of that of Xerxes, should it be necessary—it passes the imagination of man to conceive. The vast Empire of Rome, embracing as it did the whole world, from the Indus to the pillars of Hercules, sinks into absolute insignificance in comparison, and the dominion of Britain, upon which we are told the sun never sets, dwindles into an inexpressive metaphor. That we are rapidly progressing to such a condition—the history of the past seventy years—the irresistible energies of our people—the marvels which they accomplish every day—testify as clearly, as though it were capable of mathematical demonstration. There is but one thing that can arrest our career; there is but one thing that can make the Eagle stoop from his lofty flight; there is but one thing that can transfix him and nail him to the earth.—That one thing is Disunion!

If in the progress of these States, there were any resemblance to that by which others have attained the scene of their greatness—if it were reached through the blood and tears of down-troden nations—if it could only be attained at the expense of man's happiness, his freedom, and all that the individual is accustomed to hold dear—if on the road to glory, it were compelled to pave its way with the bones of its victims—the arrest of its careeer would be a blessing to mankind. Rome became the greatest nation by blotting all others from the map of the world. Pestilence blighted like the sirocco of the desert. Nations drooped—withered—and finally disappeared beneath its fatal influence—and heaping up wrath against the day of wrath, she fell unpitied, amid the victims of her consuming ambition. But this is not the path this glorious Union proposes to itself. She oppresses no one herself, while she spreads her branches abroad like the Cedars of Lebanon, and offers a shelter and a refuge to the oppressed of all the earth. Her combats are with the wilderness, and the wild beast; her victories are triumphs over the stubborn obstacles of nature and of climate. She enslaves no nation while she offers freedom to all. The aspirations of the whole human race, ascend for her success, while her fall would be the death-knell of man's most cherished hopes. Despotism may regard her progress with fear, but to the multitude, it is fraught with hope.

Can we, then, as Americans, feeling an honest pride in the glory and prosperity of our country—can we as men, believing that the happiness of the species to which we belong, is involved for ages to come, in the success of our experiment—can we as Christians, knowing that the spread of the gospel is always commensurate with the progress of civilization,—have any other wish with regard to our Union, than that it should be eternal? To suppose that we entertained a different sentiment, would be to class us with those to whom patriotism is but an idle name,—who feel no sympathy with the eternal principles of freedom which the Creator has instilled into the bosoms of all his creatures—to whom it is a matter of no interest that the religion of Christ should be spread wherever there is a tongue to publish its glad tidings, or a heart to feel the promptings of its divine influence. We trust in Heaven we are not such as this. Oh no! we love this Union as the child loves its parent. We feel for it all that intense affection, which the captive Jew experienced for the city of his heart, when he cast back his eyes to the days of its glory, from the land of his captivity, amid the lofty temples and gorgeous palaces of idolatrous Babylon. Its overthrow would create a vacuum in our hearts—in the heart of every American who deserved the name—which nothing earthly could ever fill again. The ruin—the desolation—the wreck of all hopes which would follow the awful consummation of its destruction—are too painful for the imagination to dwell on—too entirely beyond the reach of estimation, to admit of a sober calculation.

It is precisely because we place this inestimable value upon the majestic fabric consecrated to our liberties, that we shudder when we see it approached by those who have in their hands the implements of its destruction. It is because we would fain believe, that they themselves know not what they do, that we feel ourselves constrained as men, and as patriots, to warn them of the consequences which will inevitably ensue. It is because we are fully aware of the danger ourselves, that we attempt to open the eyes of those who either are wilfully blind or affect to be so. We tell them again, that in the South—in the whole South—from Alexandria to New Orleans—there is scarcely diversity of opinion and feeling enough upon this subject to deserve the name of an exception. The whole body of the people is united—firmly, strongly, indissolubly united. They feel the value of the Union as we feel it—as all men feel it, who are not dead to reason and patriotism. They are willing to make—as they have heretofore made—any reasonable sacrifice to preserve it. But there are points beyond which they are not willing that the wave of aggression shall reach. Conscious that they have required of their brethren nothing which is unreasonable—unaware of having ever, in a single instance, demanded anything which would infringe either their perfect freedom of action, or the full enjoyment of their property—they positively demand that a similar degree of forbearance should be exercised towards them. They regard the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, as necessary to secure no right to the citizen of Ohio or Massachusetts—as not at all essential to the enjoyment of any privilege, personal or political, natural or civil.—Even provided it were, with regard to them, entirely devoid of danger, they can see no just reason why it should be insisted upon. Under present circumstances, they look upon it as a perfect insult; a wanton aggression fraught with consequences of the most terrific nature to themselves, and to the generations that are to come after them.

It is too late now to discuss the power of Congress over the institution of Slavery in the District of Columbia. The minds of the Southern people are thoroughly made up; and to talk to them of constitutionality, would be like preaching to a man who saw his house on fire, about the necessity of burning it to make way for a structure of fairer proportions. They will not listen. They will be persuaded to think of nothing but the flame which they can see. They will rush to the rescue, let the consequences be what they may. Believing as they do, that the act of abolishing Slavery in the District of Columbia would not only be unnecessary, but dangerous and unconstitutional, they already ask themselves, if we submit now, what can we expect hereafter? If we give way in this most important point, are we sure, that increasing in strength as the North is increasing, it may not, in a very few years, obtain the power to change the constitution at will? Can we be assured that they will not take it into their own hands, into the hands of Congress, the entire power over the question of Slavery in the States? Can we have any security for the observance of any of the guarantees of the constitution? May not the majority alter it, and then abolish Slavery everywhere, destroying at a blow, hundreds of millions of property, and reducing the slave States to a desert?

Thus reasons the entire South. We hope and believe that our Northern brethren love the Union.—They are pursuing the very plan to ensure its destruction.—*Richmond (Va.) Whig.*

Forbearance—Union.—The Rome *Eagle and Bulletin* says:—"We notice with pleasure the stand taken by the Georgia Whig delegation in the caucus which met in Washington, for the purpose of nominating a Speaker. To our mind it was acting at the right time and in the right way. It was a timely effort to save the Union, by warning those who held the power, to save or destroy, of the consequences which must follow (if persevered in,) the legislative interference with Slavery either in the territories or the district."

In alluding to their withdrawal, it says: "In this we also think that they did right."

We are gratified by the expression of opinion by the *Eagle and Bulletin*, but we must express our regret at a part of the following: "Resolutions of State Legislatures, mass meetings, and party platforms, are as sounding brass and tinkling cimbals in the ear of Northern members of Congress, but the spirit carried by Southern members into the halls of Congress, is justly regarded as the spirit of the people themselves."

We ask, would not the resolutions of Legislatures, Conventions, mass meetings and party platforms, be regarded as showing the spirit of the people themselves, and would they not, also, have moral effect upon the members of Congress? The proper plan to manage this matter is to let those bodies referred to, speak, and let their voice be sustained by Southern members in Congress.

The *Eagle and Bulletin* says: "The Southern members generally expressed themselves favorably to the resolution, but objected to its introduction then. We regret that there could not have been more unanimity of action among the Southern members, as one blow at the threshold is worth a dozen after the enemy have entered and secured their position."

When the *Bulletin* speaks of Southern spirit "justly regarded as the spirit of the people themselves," to what spirit does it belong? the spirit of the few seceders from the caucus, or of the *Southern members generally* who would not secede with them? Of course we understand the *Bulletin* to side with Messrs. Toombs and others, and we think it right in saying that their spirit "is justly regarded as the spirit of the people themselves." When the members are divided how are we to know who most fully represents the wishes of the people unless, they have expressed their opinion at home? Suppose, for instance, that throughout the whole matter, while *Northern* Legislatures, Conventions, mass meetings, [illegible] tions of denunciation of the South, *no Southern* Legislature, Convention, mass meeting, or Governor had passed a resolution, or said a word in our defence, what would the North have thought of it? What the world?

Our indifference or cowardice would have been taken for granted, and when a few Southern members should have acted as Messrs. Toombs and others have done, at Washington, they would have been denounced worse than they now are as the "Georgia factionists" and "disorganizers," and with some show of reasons too, for they could be told, "you have cast a fire-brand into our midst—you have broken up the harmony of the great national Whig party—you have shaken your maddened locks in our political wigwam, and suddenly breathed fury and vengence, *when no Southern Whig Convention, Legislature, or body of citizens have ever passed a resolution or uttered a word of discontent.*"

How would they look when thus addressed? They might talk louldly about the deep but slumbering fires of Southern passion, and claim to be the Achilles, the Ajaxes, and the Agamemnons deputed to defend the violated honor of the South, only to be laughed at as ridiculous braggarts, unclothed with moral, actual, or representative power on the great question in dispute.

The following is the conclusion of the article of the *Bulletin* from which we have quoted: "It is much to be lamented, that in times past, we have had a superabundance of rashness and demagogueism in the press and public assemblies of the South, calculated to weaken our devotion to the Union, without exciting anything beyond the ridicule and contempt of the North, because we displayed in Congress the spirit of submission, and reelected to that body men who voted for and sustained the very measure which we affect to regard as a just cause of dissolution of the Union. Nay, to render absurdity still more absurd, and as it were to caricature our own ridiculousness, we have sometimes joined laudations of Polk for signing the Proviso with our denunciations of that measure."

We do not remember ever to have seen a resolution passed by a meeting of Southern men, (and we have read many,) nor a paragraph in a Southern paper in defence of Southern rights that was not founded in truth. We mean so far as they were intended to express an abstract opinion, or principle, upon the question of Southern rights in connection with the Slavery question. Nor have we seen the "rashness" * to which our Rome cotemporary refers.

No doubt there has been a plenty of demagoguism in the use of the question, and that too, practised by all parties.

We know that in certain quarters we have been charged with rashnes. If we have not expressed ourselves forcibly upon this question, it was because we could not command words of strength with which to clothe our thoughts.

In what did our *rashness*, or the rashness of any Southern press consist? Point it out, let it be seen. Vague generalities of expression, mere assertions without proof or reference, produce no conviction.—In what respect has the rashness of the *Southern press and public assemblies of the South weakened our devotion to the Union* and excited the *ridicule* and *contempt of the North?*

We understand the *Bulletin* to mean that it has been accomplished, because, while that press and those public assemblies have denounced the Wilmot Proviso, some Southern men, who voted for the Proviso in the Oregon bill, have been reelected to Congress. This is an attack upon those Southern Democrats who voted for that bill. We thought at the time, and still think, they acted wrong. None then can come under the charge of rashness in this regard, but those who voted for those Southern Democrats and those who sustained Mr. Polk in signing the bill.

These two classes may involve the majority of the Democrats of the South. We cannot see how they were *rash* in denouncing the Wilmot Proviso *because* they thus voted and acted. Were their declarations true or untrue? If they voted in opposition to their declarations they were inconsistent. It does not follow that the declarations were *rash.*

* When the *Bulletin* talks about rashness," and *weakening our devotion to the Union*, what will it think of Messrs. Toombs' and Stephens' late talk in Congress!!

We have ever desired to see a union of the people of the South on this question. Hence we have avoided every topic calculated to keep them apart. The Whigs have charged the Democrats with voting for the Oregon Bill, with the Wilmot Proviso attached, and upholding Mr. Polk in signing the bill. In this they charge them with being untrue to the South. The Democrats on the other hand have charged the Whigs with silent submission to the encroachments of the Northern fanatics, with refusing to participate in Southern meetings for the defense of Southern rights, in other words with not having been true to their own section. These are serious charges coming from one to the other. Each occupies the attitude of an accuser of the other of downright treachery. This is calculated to stir up the hot blood of each. You can't call your neighbor a traitor, and then expect him to harmonize with you in action. This we saw. We wanted that harmony to exist. We have called upon the people to place this question above party. We saw that party would poison the fountains of Union, and make the South the victim. Hence, we avoided attacks upon the Democrats about the Oregon Bill, and urged the Whigs to action, that there might be no ground upon which to assail them as a party. We were anxious for the Whigs to forget the past, to pass by the vote upon the Oregon Bill, and we wanted the Democrats to cease their attacks upon the Whigs for their apparent apathy. Both were in fault. The Democrats for voting for the bill, and the Whigs for their silence. There were, however, plausible excuses for both. Oregon was above the Missouri compromise line. That compromise had excluded Slavery above that line. The people of Oregon were without a government, and those Southern men, who voted for the bill, took the ground that they would respect the Missouri compromise line, whether the North would or not. They were determined to leave no ground for the North to charge them with having broken the plighted faith of the country upon that question. Mr. Polk also declared, at the time of signing the bill, that he would have vetoed it, if it had applied to Territory south of the compromise line of 36 deg. 30 min. Those Democrats, and Mr. Polk, declared all along, that they would resist any effort to exclude Slavery below it.

Here are the grounds of excuse for the Democrats. Now as to the silence of the Whigs. They were looking to and depending upon General Taylor, a Southern President and a slaveholder. To agitate the question much, had the appearance of a distrust of him. They were as true to the South as the Democrats, but the delicacy of their position seemed to require a milder and a gentler course.

Now as to the conduct of both. We would not have voted as the Democrats did upon the Oregon Bill, but their reasons for doing so are entitled to respect. We thought the Whigs pursued a wrong policy, for, though it was but proper to practise a due delicacy towards the President, strong and vigorous action was wanting to check the fanaticism of the North. From all this it appears evident that there is no necessity for violent crimination of each other, by Southern Whigs and Democrats. That crimination would keep them apart at the expense of the South. We have tried to bring them together, to bring them to see, that upon this great absorbing question, which threatens the Union, they could safely and honorably break up their hostile tents, meet half way, build one mighty tent, and encamp together as the great Southern army. To accomplish this, we have strained every nerve and taxed every power we possess. Our motives were misconstrued to our pecuniary injury, but that we did not regard so far as self was concerned. We were allured on amidst misconception and opposition, in the hope of doing good, and of finally breathing the air of Southern security and equality, which we took in with our first breath, and hope to receive with our last.

The whole South is at last aroused, the hope which animated us has ripened into reality. Whigs of the Southern section of the Union. The South is now erect, her mien is stately, her eye flashes determination, and justice *will be accorded* to her *united efforts* to maintain her rights unimpaired, and her honor untarnished.—*Agusta (Ga.) Republic.*

Western Virginia.—Is it possible that we are now near the close of the year 1849, and verging upon the third census since our present constitution was imposed upon us to curb our energies and cast a blight upon our prospects, and yet not a voice raised or hand moved to throw off the shackles that bind us down? We ask in all candor, do the people of Western Virginia intend to sit down twenty years longer and see their towns languish under the supineness that characterizes our present, legislation, and that our country, possessing the finest and most salubrious climate in the Union and a soil unsurpassed in fertility, must remain a wilderness, clothed in its primeval forests, while the world around us is moving onward with more than giant strides; and yet the native intellect we have among us still sleep as though it was all it should be, all right, and we prospering as other States are under a wise and liberal legislation?

If we do intend a reform in our legislation, if we do intend to have an equal share of legislative power, our suffrage extended, our people on an equality, our country opened by roads, our soil cultivated, our natural wealth developed, our young men intelligent and enterprising, our public schools established and our manufactures prosperous, the leading minds of western Virginia must arouse from the sleep that has fallen upon them, and must use pen and tongue to prepare the minds of the whole people for the approaching crisis in our destiny, that is to determine whether we shall be free and prosperous or forever the slaves of those who know not our wants and heed not our wishes.

Far be it from us to cast censure upon our legislature or upon the people of eastern Virginia—a more generous and high minded people never lived; but they are sleeping in the beds of their fathers and following in the old time-worn tracks of a past generation. Their snail-like progress does not suit the buoyant spirits and active energies of the west.—We want the same legislation as that under which other States prosper, and to attain that we must have a voice in the legislature proportioned to our population, we must give all men the rights of citizenship, we must dispense with all those traits in our laws which keep the offices and power of our counties and towns in the the hands of a favored few, to the exclusion of the intelligent and meritorious

Shall we rouse from this lethergy and do our duty to ourselves and the State, or shall we rest contented to be Western Virginia and as we are, through all time?—*Wheeling (Va.) Gazette.*

Convention of the Southern States.—We see it announced by letters from Washington, and published in various papers, that the representatives of several of the Southern States have agreed to leave Washington on the passage of the Slavery Restriction Proviso. It may be doubted whether such a course would be the best which, under the circumstances, could be resorted to, to reach the evil, or promote unanimity on this subject—at all events, unless they are instructed thus to act by their constituents, or by the Legislatures of their States.

There are many who are not willing to leave a question so important and vital to their interests wholly in the control of a few politicians, some of whom, perhaps, are inexperienced, indiscreet, or may have their own personal ambitious projects to further. This matter should not be dependent on opinions and wishes, or designs of a few members of Congress, or for action so undignified and undecisive as that proposed, unless agreed on unanimously by all the delegates of all the Southern States, and sanctioned by the authorities which sent them there. There is, however, a much more decisive and successful mode of treating this difficulty. This subject is one belonging, we may say, exclusively to the State Legislatures; and it is evident that they must act, not only for a united and determined purpose, but with a common and well understood system. The proposed Convention at Memphis, or Richmond, called and sanctioned by all the State Legislatures, and composed of delegates of the ablest men of these bodies, and instructed—after deliberate ad dispassionate consultation on the subject of abolition aggression—to present the solemn and determined *ultimatum* of the South, seems to be the only method of securing for this question the unanimity and dignity which its importance demands. The determinations of such a convention would go to the people of the Union as the action of sovereign States—not (as heretofore) the vaporing resolutions of irresponsible and sparse assemblages of the people, but with the power, dignity, and authority of a moiety of the members of the whole confederacy. Its effect would not fail to be impressive and salutary, convincing all that the South was in earnest in the assertion of her rights; and unless we strangely misunderstand the sentiments of the people, the demands of the South for justice would be warmly responded to by the patriotic masses throughout the Union. They have been misled by demagogues; and we are not ready to believe that they will continue to persist in the wrong when they fully understand the injustice they are perpetrating. Hence the necessity of a remonstrance to a form which will bring this question, and the inevitable consequences incident to it, fully to the understandings of the whole people. A declaration from such a Convention as that proposed, (not in a spirit of bravado, but in the earnest language befitting a crisis so solemn and important) showing this subject in its true lights, the great wrong attempted the South—destructive at once of the great principle of equality on which the Compact is founded, and which, if persisted in, must inevitably break it up—would, there is reason to hope, rally the patriotic masses everywhere to abate this injustice, and preserve the Union. The preservation of the rights of the South is the first duty of its statesmen, the next is the preservation of the Union if it can be (and there is little doubt of that by the exercise of proper means in the proper spirit) consistently with the preservation of those rights.—The Union has cost too much of patriotic blood and treasure—its advantages are too apparent, and the dangers and inconveniences threatening from its disrupture too glaring to justify its abandonment for light and trivial causes. There are a few fanatics, unquestionably, in all sections of the Union, who, for various reasons, seek its destruction, but nineteen twentieths of the people, North, South, East, and West, love and revere it, and will rally to sustain it, and can only be driven by the sternest necessity to abandon it. Such necessity, we trust and believe, will be avoided by a return to those principles of exact and equal justice, without which our republican institutions are a mockery and a nullity. This matter is too momentous to be left to the management of a few scheming politicians at Washington: and we trust that our Legislature will, before adjournment, take the steps which the crisis demands to convoke, not "a Southern Convention" of politicians, but a Covention of the Southern *States* in their sovereign capacity.—*Daily Alabama Journal*

"If, indeed, the population and resources of California are sufficient to justify her admission into the Union as a State, their decision not to admit Slavery into the country is conclusive! We all acknowledge that the people, in a State capacity, have the right to regulate their domestic concerns in their own way, and there is no power in Congress, or elsewhere, to alter or abrogate that decision."—*Anderson (S. C.) Gazette.*

We are glad to see that one at least of the South Carolina jounrals displays a little common sense in reference to the position of California, and is not disposed to repudiate a principle for which the South has so long contended, because it appears to work prejudicially to Southern interests. The *Gazette* frankly avows that if California has the requisite population to form a State, her action on the question of Slavery is conclusive and final. This is the correct and only sound doctrine—it is the doctrine for which all State rights men contend, and he who repudiates a principle so well established because its operation happens now to favor his views, is unworthy the confidence of any community of people.

Among the objections used to the admission of California as a State by those who seem desirous to keep the question open for the purposes of agitation, are the extent of its limits and its want of sufficient population. The question of population, although a constitutional requisition, has never been regarded by Congress in its admission of States into the Union as indispensable. Indeed, there are several instances where States have been admitted without the requisite population. This was true of Florida and Texas, neither of which was believed to contain the amount of population required by the Constitution at the time of their admission. But we have no doubt California will have a sufficient population, even if that constitutional provision be rigidly enforced, before she applies for admission. Such is the influx of immigration.

As to the boundaries of the State, on which some rely with such apparent confidence for grounds to reject her application, we have a precedent of recent occurrence and high democratic authority, in the admission of Texas with a territory large enough for five States as large as the average States of the Union. That State was admitted with the express understanding that when deemed expedient she should be formed into two or more States. Why not the same thing be done with California? If it were right and proper as to Texas, the same policy will be equally so in regard to California. Yet the very men who acquiesced in and urged the propriety of the policy as to Texas, object to the admission of California, because her boundaries, when adjusted by her Convention, may be as large as Texas.

It will be wise policy in the South if, relying upon the justice of her cause, she repudiate demagogues and corrupt political tricksters, and assume only such positions in reference to the great interests involved as she can maintain before the country and the world. She has been humbugged long enough, in all conscience, by listening to the canting demagogues who advocate any measure that may "inure to their benefit" for the season; and it is now time that her people should be influenced in their action by reason and sound sense. *Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle and Sentinel.*

Some of the papers are prating of a new compromise of the Slavery question, said to have been invented by General Taylor, and which he is himself to carry into execution. It is to give his assent to a bill for admitting California into the Union, and to put his veto on a bill establishing a territorial government for New Mexico with a prohibition of Slavery.

With regard to the first branch of this expedient, we have only to observe, that General Taylor could not prevent the admission of California as a State if he was disposed. It is pretty certain to obtain a majority of two-thirds in both houses of Congress, and to stand entirely independent of the veto of the Executive. The friends and adherents of Mr. Calhoun will no doubt oppose its admission, but these will not forma third part of either body, the remaining Southern members will hesitate to oppose the will of the people of California, backed as it is by a strong public opinion in nearly all parts of the Union.

Yet in putting his signature to such a bill, Gen. Taylor would displease all those who are fighting the battle for the extension of Slavery under the conduct of Mr. Calhoun. The admission of California, with her present Constitution, gives up the line of the Missouri Compromise, which they have contended for, extending to the Pacific Ocean. This party has told us half a dozen times, that it would have no more to do with compromises, yet we hear the *Journal of Commerce*, its organ here, making the following proposition:

The Southern members of Congress will probably propose to bound both the above States, Deseret and California, southerly, by lat. 36 30, (the Missouri Compromise line,) leaving the territory south of that latitude to be formed into a separate State when the population shall be sufficient,—with such restrictions, if any, with respect to Slavery, as the people may direct. To this we see no objection. It is in fact, the same proposition of compromise which was offered by the South at an early stage of the controversy, and which *we* advise the North to accept."

If General Taylor should, as in fact he has already done, in his message, favor the plan of admitting

California with the boundaries marked out in its Constitution, he must face the displeasure of those who insist, with the *Journal of Commerce*, on the extension of the line of the Missouri compromise to the Pacific Ocean. The *Richmond Enquirer* of Saturday last, referring to the paragraph which we have just quoted, says:

"So far from indicating any sympathy with such a sound and conciliatory principle, President Taylor avows himself in favor of admitting the new State of California, with its Anti-Slavery clause, its monstrous boundaries (including 700 miles of sea-coast) and all. Were he not fettered by the double-dealing policy of cheating and humbugging both sections of the Union, and the awful penalty of an exposure, he might win for himself a glorious name, by marking out such a plan of adjusting this difficult question. He has not done so—and will continue the game of ambiguity and deception, dreading to meet the issue."

This is a sample of the treatment the old hero must make up his mind to meet with, if he does not co-operate with those who desire to bound the State of California by the line of the Missouri compromise.

With regard to the Territorial government of New Mexico, it seems to be pretty well agreed, that if any bill for that purpose is adopted at the present session it will contain a prohibition of Slavery.—Will General Taylor send back such a bill, with the objection that Congress has no power over Slavery in the territories? Will he load his administration with the odium of sustaining such a doctrine in the face of the opinions of three-fourths of whole population of the Union? Will he take upon himself the responsibility of leaving New Mexico without a government till another Congress shall assemble? General Taylor is a brave man in the field, but we doubt whether he has sufficient hardihood for this.

The assertion of the right of Congress to prohibit Slavery, is what the North demand. Refuse them this as long as there are any territories for which a government is to be provided, and you refuse them everything. The quarrel is one which does not, in its nature, admit of a compromise. It is not a contest for the admission of California as a State; it is a struggle for the regulation of our territories in such a manner as shall prevent the planting of Slavery within their territories. If General Taylor expects to atone for his hostility to the cause of freedom in the territories, by assenting to what he cannot help, the admission of California as a State, he is deplorably mistaken.—*Evening Post.*

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

NEW YORK: THURSDAY, JANUARY 17, 1850.

Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts A. S. Society.

THE annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Boston, on WEDNESDAY, January 23d, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., and will probably continue in session the two succeeding days. The signs of the times are so auspicious for the friends of emancipation, that a large and spirited attendance on their part is confidently expected. Such are the facilities of railroad conveyance, every part of the Commonwealth ought to be well represented. We cordially invite our friends, beyond the limits of Massachusetts, to be with us on the approaching anniversary. The Slave Power is beginning to falter—fresh adherents are daily rallying around the standard of Liberty—and the cry of 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS' is causing the knees of the oppressor to tremble. We must press onward until our work is accomplished, the slave liberated from his chains, and the land purged from its stains of pollution and blood.

☞ All the meetings will be in FANEUIL HALL. Settees will be provided on the floor of the hall for the accommodation of the audience. It is expected that the Annual Report will be printed and ready for distribution at the opening of the session

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President*

EDMUND QUINCY, *Secretary.*

A Contented Commonwealth.

MAN is proverbially a discontented animal.—"Enough" is, with him, always "a little more than he has." It is rarely that one meets with another satisfied with his lot. Grumbling is the heritage of humanity, and, especially, of Anglo-Saxon humanity. The privilege of finding fault is one of the most dearly prized of a free-born Briton's rights. And free and independent Americans, though they will not suffer any body else to find fault with the perfection of their political and social relations and habitudes, from baging children and whipping women down to eating with their knives and making the Creation one sublime universal Spittoon, prove that they have not changed their minds with their skies, by their sensitiveness to ridicule, their imitativeness of foreign manners, their toad-eating and tuft-hunting, their horrible surmises of the snobbishness of their Republican Institutions, (as indeed they are, though not as they count snobbish,) and, in a better way, by their general restlessness and go-ahead-ativeness, States, which we are told are constituted of "Men" "highminded" or otherwise as the case may be, are apt to be coloured by the complexion of the particles of which they are made up. Few have attained that pitch of perfectionism that they are crowned with the fullness of content.

We are happy to learn from the highest authority, that there is an exception to this general disquietude, in this family of States, if not in the Great Commonweath of Nations. Governor Briggs, the nursing father of Massachusetts, has just informed the world in his Annual Message, that "she (Massachusetts, to wit,) IS CONTENT to leave Slavery where it is left by the Constitution, that is, within the limits of the States where it exists!" Happy Massachusetts, in that she hath thus found rest unto her soul! Happier in that she hath brought up in the nurture and admonition of her Religion and Politics a devout man worthy to give God thanks for this rare blessing of a contented mind! If it be true, (and we fear it is!) then she is as Falstaff called Dame Quickly, "a Thing to thank God on"—She is content, is she, to leave Slavery where it is under the Constitution, and to return fugitives from it and to send Volunteers or forced Levies to put down its struggling in its chains? We dare say she is. The wretch who kidnapped a Slave who had sought the hospitality of his ship and had become entitled to the protection of Massachusetts by touching her soil, and sent him back to the torture in New Orleans, yet walks the Exchange in Boston, and the honorable merchants there do not spit upon him as he passes. The Sheriff who suffered the Gaol of Boston to be turned into a Barracoon for the safekeeping of Latimer, still executes the laws in the Capital of the State. And the Governor who appealed to the patriotism of her sons to go up and fight the battles of Slavery in a War consequent on that Act which he had declared would justify and should produce Disunion, has been chosen again and again to fill the highest office in her gift.

No doubt Massachusetts is content to leave Slavery where the Constitution leaves it, but she content to be left where Slavery under the Constitution has left her. Sons of hers, as good in her eyes as Governor Briggs, exercising their Constitutional right of visiting another State, where equal citizenship is secured to them, on paper, are seized and sold into life-long Slavery. She sends an honorable brother of theirs to bring an action at law to try the question of the Constitutional right of that State so to entreat them. He is unceremoniously turned out of the State and a law is passed dooming to the punishment of felons, the monster who shall dare again bring an action in the Federal Courts, questioning her supremacy! Is this the Constitution and the Union to which, Governor Briggs affirms, Massachusetts, "come what may, will be faithful!" "Come what may," indeed! What can come more dishonorable to a Sovereign State, whose first duty is protection to the weakest of its citizens, and its second to compel the observance of the obligations which other States have entered into with her at any expense, than what has come? She has been to the South what Russia was to Austria and what Turkey refused to be. She has interposed the intervention of her physical force to put down or to keep down insurrection, and she has consented to the extradition of the true lovers of liberty who have laid hold of the hem of her garment. She has performed the dirty consideration asked of her, and when in return she asks for her children the Constitutional right of cititizenship, they are sold as slaves; of freedom of speech, they are tarred and feathered, if not hanged; of freedom of the press and they are shot down like dogs; of free access to the Constitutional tribunals and they are sent to the Penitentiary for a term of years!

All this has been done and yet Massachusetts remains in the Union! All this has been done and Charleston has not been sacked, and New Orleans has not been laid in ashes! And Governor Briggs has the impudence, in the face of all this, to tell her sneaking General Court that they "stand here to-day the Representatives of the Pilgrims!" He and they the representatives of the Pilgrims! *They* "entered into the liberty" the Pilgrims sought! We can tell him that the Liberty of a Massachusetts' man, as a citizen of the United States, is no more like the liberty the Pilgrims sought, than the Religion of Massachusetts is like the Religion they cherished. They would spurn the one as well as the other as a Sham and a Mockery. Let His Excellency glorify himself and his Honorable Colleagues as much as he chooses; but, for God's sake, let him spare the memory of the Pilgrims! If Governor Briggs thinks he is the representative of Carver and Bradford in anything but lineal succession he is as much mistaken as Gulliver would have been if he had thought himself a match for the King of Boobdinag. The old Puritan Governors did not submit tamely to insult and injury. They believed in the sword (does not Governor Briggs?) and they smote their enemies with it, hip and thigh. Governor Briggs is Commander in Chief of Massachusetts, he has under him Major Generals of Divisions, and Brigadier Generals of Brigades, and Colonels of Regiments, and Captains of Companies, and he has returns in his Adjudant General's Office of all men within his jurisdiction able to bear arms. What is all this for, except to vindicate the rights and maintain the honor of Massachusetts? To protect her citizens and redress her wrongs? When does she expect an occasion to put forth her strength, to fall back upon those reserved rights which lie behind all Governmental Agreements, if she be content to sit down in her present ignominy and under her existing injury?

If Massachusetts had accepted the Ultra Peace principle and refused to vindicate her rights and redress her wrongs by the sword, because she holds it an unhallowed instrumentality, there would be something to be proud of in her submission. Though even then there are ways and means of peaceful retaliation, which might prove that her quietism was neither insensibility or cowardice. But she brags of the fighting she has done in time past, and which she is ready to do again in time to come. She goes armed to the teeth and yet suffers herself to be kicked and spit upon with scarcely a whine of remonstrance. She takes for her motto the words of Algernon Sydney, "*Ense petit placidam sub Liberate quietem*" She seek for calm peace under Liberty, by the Sword! She seek for servile quiet, by patient crouching under the cudgel of South Carolina. If some tall bully should assault an inoffensive Quaker and he, in obedience to his principles of non-resistance, should take it patiently, who would think the worse of him? For his submission was but a testimony to what he esteems an eternal truth. But if this same bully, with revolvers in his pocket, a bowie knife in his sleeve and a sword-cane in his hand, strutting up and down bragging that *he* would never submit to an insult or an injury, should be met by a man of quiet courage, who took measure of his quality, who should tweak his nose, spit in his face, kick him behind and break his cudgel over his shoulders, and he should sneak away like a whipped cur, he would be a just object of scorn and derision. Now this is just the parable that sets forth the conduct and position of Massachusetts. And yet we are told by her Head, that she is content to have it so.

Braggarts have ever been the butt of the Comic Stage. Comedy delights to portray this variety of the species, because its absurdity is equal to all pretension. Bobadil and Parolles and Ancient Pistol were always sure to bring down the House. And yet Bobadil was a tall fellow of his hands, Parolles a man of spirit and Ancient Pistol, eating the leak, a hero, compared with the contented sons of Massachusetts. Your braggart, too, is sure to be a stalwart trencher-man. Give him his belly-full and you may thwack his ribs till they resound again. So Governor Briggs by way of improving the contentment of his constituents, devotes the latter half of his Message to an exulting enumeration of the growing resources and means of creating wealth they possesss, and to a triumphant hope that General Taylor's wish may be father to his thought, when he advocates a Tariff and Internal Improvements, and that his power may equal his good will. This is true to character. These are the elements of the content of Massachusetts! Give her a thriving trade and prosperous manufactures and South Carolina may thrash her as long as she can stand over her. But, thank God, any permanent and abiding prosperity is incompatible with a Union with her natural enemy. Whatever she may have, is in spite, and not because, of that unnatural partnership. How like are these words of Massachusetts, uttered by the mouth of her Chief Magistrate, read in the light of her history, to those of Parolles in the play, after he has been exposed and disgraced!

"Yet am I thankful! Now if any heart were great,
'Twould burst at this! Captain, I'll be no more;
But I will eat, and drink, and sleep as soft
As Captain shall! Simply the thing I am,
Shall make me live."

We have used Governor Briggs's Message as the text for this discourse, and have illustrated by the example of Massachusetts, because it happened to come to hand. But we would beg leave to say that all Our Observations, though taken at the Meridian of Massachusetts, will do for New York, Maine, New Jersy, Pennsylvania, or, indeed, for any of the Free States.

"*Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur.*"

"Change but the name, the tale is told of thee!"

E. Q.

APOLOGETICAL.—The death of a brother of the Editor, as will be seen in another column, as well as sickness in his own family, will be a sufficient apology for the want, this week, of our usual amount and variety of editorial.

We must claim the indulgence of our readers for any errors, as to matter or manner, that may have occurred, in several current No's of the *Standard*, as Mr. Gay has been for several weeks necessarily absent from the city.

Among some other errors that escaped notice, at the time, in the last number, we observe on the first page the review of the "Letters of Humboldt," from the *London Inquirer*, which should have been put on the fourth

Communications.

Slave-Labor Products.---No. VI.

"Convince me," said William Legget, "that a principle is right in the abstract and I will reduce it to practice, if I can." This noble determination of the distinguished individual who gave it utterance, is in the heart of every reformer, at the bottom of every reform, and should be the rule of action of every virtuously disposed mind. Were the lover of Truth deterred from the individual fulfilment of its dictates, by the hosts of persons opposing it from interest, love of ease, or a misapprehension of the case, never would an entrance be found for the wedge which is to split in pieces the knarled growth of an extensively cherished error. "A great portion of the moral evil in the world," said Jonathan Dymond, "is the result not so much of the intensity of individual wickedness, as of a general incompleteness in the practical virtue of all classes of men. If it were possible to take away misconduct from one half of the community and to add its amount to the remainder, it is probable that the moral character of our species would be soon benefitted by the change. *Now,* the ill dispositions of the bad are powerfully encouraged by the want of upright examples of those who are better. A man may deviate considerably from rectitude, and still be as good as his neighbors. From such a man, the motive to excellence which the constance presence of virtuous examples supplies, is taken away So that there is reason to believe, that if the bad were to become worse, and the reputable to become proportionably better, the average virtue of the world would speedily be increased."

These considerations, did we feel inclined to relax our efforts to peform ourselves, and to press on others, the duty of avoiding the use of the products of Slavery, could not fail to re-encourage us to that fulfilment.

Not more certainly does the atmosphere of this earth give vitality to the people inhabiting it, than does the buying of the products of Slavery sustain the criminal system which produces them. Diminish the buying of these products, the system languishes! Withdraw it, it perishes! Continue it, it continues to flourish! Increase it, it puts forth new and luxuriant branches, grateful for every additional favor!

That a demand for goods ensures a supply, is a commercial axiom of indisputable authority. In ordinary commerce, such a demand carries happiness to the free laborer, because it affords employment and remuneration to him; but in a commerce which relates to the staple products of Slavery, it is the messenger of deep affliction to the slave; adding to his burdens, or increasing the number of the companions of his misery.

The history of the cotton trade of the United States is full of deep instruction on this subject; from the eras when the culture of cotton was an experiment, and its yearly export but a few hundred pounds weight, down to the present time when its culture far transcends, and its exports probably equal, one thousand millions of pounds per annum,—from the period when, in 1784, so great was the difficulty of getting compensatory employment for the slaves, that the masters, to save themselves from ruin, deliberated on the propriety of setting all their slaves free, down to the period when Henry Clay valued the slaves in the United States at twelve hundred millions of dollars;—from the period when the slaves in the Union numbered 600,000, down to this when they are five-fold the amount. Of like interest is the collateral history of Brazil and the Spanish American colonies in relation to other staples of Slavery. But what other evidence need we to show that the demand for the products of Slavery gives it its breath of life, than the single fact that when the British Government, yielding the demand for cheap sugars, opened its ports to the slave-grown sugars of Cuba and Brazil, the Havanna was illuminated, twenty per cent. added on the price of slaves, and twelve slavers put in immediate preparation for the African coast: the result of this opening being to increase the African Slave Trade from 47,255 slaves, the yearly average from 1840 to 1845, up to 76,117, in 1846, and to 84,356, in 1847! The mental eye on which the glare of that illumination cast no light must be irremediably obscured. The mind uninstructed by those events will derive no lesson of wisdom in observing the movement which is now being made by the slave power in these United States for obtaining extended territories, in which to wield its lash over extended numbers, in contemplation of extended markets for its dishonestly obtained productions.

There is no dictum of higher authority on all the facts relating to Slavery than that of George Thompson. In a speech to his constituency in London, following his election to the British Parliament, in which he presented his views as to the expediency and duty of cherishing the cotton cultivation in India, he thus says—"A single glance at the origin of Negro Slavery will suggest the remedy which ought to be applied. The Slavery and Slave Trade of the Western World began in a desire to obtain, by forced labor, the products of the earth.....The introduction of the sugar cane, and the demand for its produce, led to the trade in slaves with Africa; and the enslavement of seven millions of Africans and their descendants at the present time, and all the existing horrors and atrocities of the African Slave Trade, are founded upon the desire to realize the profits which are obtainable by the growth and sale of five articles—sugar, coffee, cotton, rice and tobacco. Were the demand for these to cease, the nourishment and vitality of these systems would cease, and they would perish from the earth."

So conspicuously does the using of the products of Slavery produce Slavery itself, that it is a mere truism to affirm that the users create the system, and are accountable for its existence, and but a corollary of that truth, that each of the whole of the users is morally called to an abandonment of the use.

We have heretofore presented as general moral principles, the three following: 1. That to aid and abet crime, is criminal. 2. That whatever we do by others we do ourselves. 3. That as moral beings we are bound to throw the weight of our influence into the scale of virtue. None of these principles have been denied, nor has Brother Ballou shown, nor have we perceived that he has attempted to show, their want of application to the case of the use of the products of Slavery. It seems to be rather the policy of our friend to throw in slightly parallel issues and then to measure duty in the case before us, by the practice, whether right or wrong, in the cases he presents. We may in this way have a debate without profit, and a "conclusion in which no thing is concluded;" but such a progress and sequel are certainly not to be desired.

As authority for the above principles, we offer the following quotations.

In his "Christian Non-Resistance," pages 26, 27, the author states, "what a Christian non-resistant cannot consistently do"—"he cannot do any act, either in person or by proxy; nor abet or encourage any act in others; nor demand, petition for, request, advise or approve the doing of any act by an individual, association or government, *which* act would inflict, *threaten* to inflict, or *unnecessarily* cause to be inflicted, any *absolute personal injury*, as herein before defined."

In the Declaration of the Hopedale Community, of which Adin Ballou is a member, occurs the following—"I believe in the religion of Jesus Christ as he taught and exemplified it, according to the Scriptures of the New Testament. I acknowledge myself a bounden subject to its moral obligations. Especially do I hold myself bound by its holy requirements never, under any pretext whatsoever, to kill, assault, beat, torture, enslave, rob, oppress, persecute, corrupt, slander, revile, injure, envy or hate any human being;.... never to aid, abet or approve others in anything sinful; but through Divine assistance always to recommend and promote with my entire influence, the holiness and happiness of all mankind."

These quotations not only affirm the general principles I have suggested, but they apply themselves also, by the minutia into which they descend, to many of the wrongs perpetrated upon the slave through the instrumentality of using the products of his coerced labor.

We ask Br. Ballou, does using the products of Slavery abet or encourage any act in others *which act would* inflict, *threaten* to inflict, or *unnecessarily* cause to be inflicted *any absolute personal injury* upon the slave—who is robbed, lashed, brutalized to produce them?

We ask, does paying the slaveholder the price which he attaches to the products violently coming from the toil of the slave, aid, abet or approve him in the violence necessary to obtain the product. Is paying this money, *performing by proxy* the acts of assaulting, beating, tormenting, enslaving, robbing, oppressing, persecuting, corrupting, injuring, not to say finally killing the slave; most of which acts are necessary to the subjugation of the slave, and to the obtaining of the products for which the money is paid; and are known to be so to the buyer?

Our friend admits in his reply to No. 2, that in the ordinary course of trade, "the accused"—the users of slave's produce—"do aid in supplying the slaveholders with money." Now if this money be the inducement for which the slaveholder commits the felony of, or upon the slave, we cannot see how they, the users, can escape the condemnation that they aid and abet the slaveholder in his felony. Putting aside the question of theft in either case, does not the person who buys the goods of Slavery just so much patronize Slavery as he who buys the goods of piracy patronizes Piracy? And in the case of the taking of public property between nations at war, where no theft is implied, because the agreement in advance is that "the spoils go to the victor," does he patronize violence any more or any less, who gives his money for such property, than he who gives his money for the product of the violence of Slavery?

We now give our respectful attention to our friend's reply, No. 3.

The discussion respecting the American Anti-Slavery Society is, of course, closed; but we take the privilege of saying that when a public man gives his sentiments to the world in a public manner, he is understood to retain them until their recall shall be announced by an equal publicity. Taking this for granted, we did prove what in that case our respondent has supposed was *un*-proveable.

We feel much indebted to our respondent for the care he has taken to illustrate those new revelations by which it has been made to appear *to him* that the productions of the labor of freemen are not free produce. We are so practical in our conceptions, that we can't enter into the metaphysics which determines that a spade is not a spade. Should it be hereafter our good fortune to attain this high intellectual ability, we will doubtless perceive that free produce is not free produce, and of consequence make the pledged retraction. We commend "Omega" to the instruction of George Thompson as to "*what* holds the slaves in their chains;" and in acknowledgment of the pleasure we have derived from the Drama in which he takes so conspicuous a part, we offer him the following story:

"In the Archipelago," according to a legend of Aden Ben Hassen, "were four principal islands, called respectively, Labor Island, Pirate Island, Progression Island, and Profession Island. The people of Labor Island were honest, gentle and industrious, and having a fruitful soil exported to other Islands the excess produce of their industry. Pirate Island was equally available for culture; but it was left a comparative wilderness by its bucaneer inhabitants, who made it their chief business to be on the lookout for the boats of Labor Island, and, overhauling them, when they could, to transfer the cargo to their own boats, and then proceed to sell it where they could find a market. The two other islands had a sterile soil, but their inhabitants were inventive and commercial, and, as traders and artizans are wont to be, were in the high road to prosperity. The moral condition of the Progressionists had once been extremely low, but had much improved and was still improving. They continued, however, to buy from the Pirates under the idea of a necessary commercial civility. The Progressionists had long been an enlightened people, and had a divine book in which their religion was written. This forbad them to buy anything that was stolen; and hence they refused to purchase any of the Pirate's goods.

"The pirates, aware of the direct, and, yet more, of the influential value of a trade with the Professionists, used every allurement to open such an intercourse with them: but without effect, till it bethought them to call to their aid the great magician Abdallah, who had the power of reading into the inmost thoughts and motives of men, and who now was a visitant of the Islands. Abdallah, in reply to their application, told them that if the Professionists were so sincere in their faith as really to desire to carry it out in all its dictates, no power of necromancy could prevail over them; but, if otherwise, he would probably be able to weave, and *throw over their minds with their own consent*, a very thin veil of casuistry which would remove all hesitancy to some form of commerce in the now repudiated products. To this end he said it would be necessary for him to proceed to Profession Island, and *explore* the people. This exploration effected, he thus advised the pirates—'Your path is easy to an intercourse with the Professionists, but it must be through the commission of a deeper crime than has yet been practised on the people of Labor Island. You must steal the people instead of their goods. Transfer them to your Island. Force them to produce there what they before voluntarily raised at home, and the product of their labor will then be so washed of the crime of robbery, that the Professionists will no longer refuse to acknowledge it as rightfully your's to sell and their's to buy? The scheme was followed, and was found to answer to a charm. The product of this circumlocutory guilt was now bought with avidity by the Professionists; though they proceeded, cotemporaneously, to form missionary, tract, anti-manstealing societies to teach the Pirates the sinfulness of that "one, all-comprehensive crime of *man-theft*."

"It is remarkable how differently this change in the mode of getting at the products of the toil of the people of Labor Island, operated on the simpler minds of the Progressionists. They perceived it to be still a robbery—a robbery, not as before of a part only, but of the whole—not merely of the things of a man, but of the man himself, inclusive of the things. Shocked at the towering guilt, they resolved to have no fellowship with it, and forthwith enacted a law prohibiting the admission into their island of any goods resulting from it.

"The services of Abdallah were again invoked, but his brief reply was—My power exists only where there is some lingering insincerity. The Progressionists are in the affection of Goodness and Truth; and no enchantment of mine, did I desire to use it, could avail aught to restrain them in their upward destiny."

Brother Ballou adheres with a pertinaceousness worthy of a better cause, to the position that slaves have no proprietory rights, in an effort to arrive at the character of his argument. I have collected the following points as belonging to it:—

The act of reducing a man to chattel Slavery robs him at once of all his rights. The slave does not claim to have any proprietory ones; neither does law or public opinion accord them to him; and yet "A man's God-given rights never cease to be his." But he may be robbed of them all. These rights the slaveholder took "at one grasp, and in that one unrelaxed grasp, he continuously holds them all." All those wrongs stand concentrated in the gigantic crime of *man-theft*,—not excusing a single deed of cruelty to the slave as a slave. The idea is preposterous that the slaveholder steals the slave's property after depriving him of self-ownership. This applies, also to the taking of "his wife and children—of the very life and being of the slave." In a former number, "slaveholding" is "man-stealing protracted—a crime which overshadows and comprehends all *subsequent* incidental wrongs." In his present number, "there is no after in the case till the man-theft ceases. Man-theft is prolonged with the slaveholding, and is a continuous crime which can only cease with repentance or death." "God's moral protection never ceases. His justice encompasses all, and will sooner or later render to every man according to his works."

These points are somewhat undulatory. We can scarcely get from any of them a clear observation of our friend's true position; yet we shall notice each of them in our further remarks.

We hold the slave to be a man and a brother. We claim for him all the rights which belong to him in those relations. He forfeits none by his ignorance of them, or their non-recognition by human laws, or by a *selfish* public opinion. His rights are God-given. They can only cease with his existence. Each invasion of them is a crime, daily, hourly, momently as the invasion is. The unrelaxed grasp of the slaveholder which continuously holds the rights of the slave, clutches with them a responsibility for their minutest violation. The gigantic crime of man-theft neither absorbs nor modifies them; and transfers to no fictitious account any act of cruelty or wrong. Whatever would be the right of the man is still the right of the slave as a man. To rob him of its fruition is not to annul its constant existence. Self-ownership is a perpetual, an inalienable right. The invasion of this ownership does not make the slave the less the owner of what would belong to him as a man. The wife and children of the slave are his by an eternal law, and so are his very life and being. Whether the summing up of the individual wrongs of slavery be called protracted manstealing, or some other convenient term be used to express the total of that mass of iniquity—*the expression* overshadows no crime and compounds no guilt, whether they accompany or *follow* the act which enslaves the man. Man-theft proper, is a continuous crime, but it is a part only of the crimes of slavery. God's moral protection never ceases; it guards at all points the rights of the slave—not *as* a slave, but as a man—the image of God. His justice equally with his love encompasses all. Not a sparrow falls to the ground—not a single wrong is done which escapes our Heavenly Father's notice.

"Not a flower within the wood,
Hidden in deep solitude,
Lifts its head toward the sky
Unmarked by thy all-seeing eye;
Not a wail from sorrow riven
But is registered in Heaven."

The rights of the slave may be considered as under a physical restraint, and yet perfect and active as to their moral existence. His right to the products of his labor is as entire as are his rights to his liberty and self-owner-ship; and to take away those products from him is to rob him of them. It is no argument that he can't hold or enjoy them because of his being in a state of duress. Remove that duress, and he can do both. The argument of our brother we believe to be this: The wrong perpetrated on the slave exists *wholly* in the man-theft, excepting acts of personal cruelty. And a fair deduction from this argument is, that while the slaveholder commits this gigantic theft by holding the prisoner in his continuous grasp, those who give him the motive for doing the mighty wrong, may rifle the pockets of the subject of it with perfect impunity!

We do not concede to the buyers of the products of slavery such a privilege. In taking those goods to their use, they add a new offence to the crime of being the motive-givers to the whole system of wrong; but in saying this, or in whatever else we have said, we do not claim to have "the honor of soothing the slaveholder's conscience with the flattering unction that his thefts *go from him* with his stolen goods to their *consumers*."

ALPHA.

Congressional.

We give below a full report of the Debates in the Senate upon the Vermont Resolutions and the suspension of diplomatic intercourse with Austria, including such other proceedings as relate to the subject of Slavery. In the House nothing has been done save the balloting for Clerk; which, on Friday, resulted in the re-election of Campbell:—

SENATE, Jan. 4.

Among other business of the morning,

Mr. MASON introduced a bill to provide for the more effectual execution of the clause of the Constitution, relative to the recapture of fugitive slaves. Referred to Judiciary Committee.

Mr. MASON expressed the hope that the Committee would make an early report upon the bill, which was one of much importance to the whole South, and particularly to the Commonwealth of Virginia.

The hour of one having arrived, the Chair stated the special order of the day.

Mr. CASS moved that the special order be postponed, with a view to allow the consideration of his resolution on suspending diplomatic relations with Austria. Agreed to.

Mr. CASS—I do not know that this resolution will be opposed, as it is one of inquiry only, and not of action; but, as I should not have introduced it, had I not intended to ask the opinion of the Senate upon the subject, whatever may be the report of the Committee of Foreign Relations, and as the measure is not a usual one, I deem it proper briefly to state the reasons which have induced me to propose it. The intercourse subsisting between the independent nations of the world, where not regulated by special conventional arrangements, is regulated by each for itself—subject to the established principles of the law of nations. The great improvement in the mechanic arts, and the general progress of the age, united to that spirit of enterprise—commercial and scientific—which was never more usefully employed than now, have given increased energy to this intercourse; and having in fact broken down the barriers of space which separated nations, have opened each to the knowledge and business of all. This general intercommunication, especially among the nations of Christendom, creates a community of interest, and, in some measure, of feeling, which becomes a bond, however slight, uniting them into one great political family.

The internal agitations of external dangers which threaten one cannot be indifferent to the other members of this wide spread community. The age is an inquiring and observing one; and the facility and rapidity of communication—among the proudest triumphs of human knowledge—come powerfully in aid of this disposition to judge and approve, or censure passing events, as their character and circumstances may justify. This public opinion embodied by the Press, in the daily journals it pours forth,—is borne through the civilized world, pronouncing the judgment of the present day, and anticipating that of posterity. There is none so low as not to be encouraged by its approbation. The frontiers of a country may be armed at its approach, but it will pass them. It may be checked, but it cannot be stopped, it is stronger than the bayonet,—more vigilant than the suspicion of despotism.

The Diplomatic relations subsisting between two countries, are maintained only by political agents, such as Ambassadors, Ministers or Charges, reciprocally sent for that purpose. At the commencement of this Government, we had few of these functionaries, and those we had, were confined to the principal European Courts. They have been gradually increased in number, until twenty-seven of them are now authorized. Still there were important countries in Europe, to which no American Representative had been sent,—among which was Austria—where they have been sent but recently. In some cases, this Diplomatic interchange is rather a matter of courtesy than of positive utility, either commercial or political. After a treaty of Commerce is formed, or it is found that a satisfactory one cannot be formed,—the relations between us and some of these countries, would go on, as indeed they have gone on, with nothing to interrupt their harmony and good understanding, because the points of contact are few, and exposed to few difficulties. Such is our condition with respect to Austria, which has but one port—that of Trieste—where we have any commerce worthy of the name; the value of this commerce is about a million and a half. The ancient "Queen of the Adriatic" still looks out upon the waters, but she is herself a melancholy spectacle—her prosperity having departed with her independence. The "Iron Will" of Austria has left to Venice little but the remembrance of her former magnificence, and the oppressive sense of her degradation. But in these ports, and wherever else, if any where, they may be necessary, Consuls would perform the commercial functions; their positions not being at all affected by any change in diplomatic relations, short of a state of war. I do not pretend by this glance at our intercourse with Austria, that I propose this measure on the ground that an American Representative is unnecessary at the Court of Venice. I trust if we carry it to its practical result, that we shall be influenced by higher considerations. I allude to this topic, merely to show that a great act of national duty may be performed, without the sacrifice of any national interest whatever. Nor does the interruption of diplomatic intercourse give any just cause of offense; there is no obligation to establish or to continue it; it is a mere question either of courtesy or convenience, and a considerable portion of the missions of Europe are maintained from feelings of courtesy, arising out of the affinity of Governments, and of an indisposition to exhibit, what is there considered a mark of disrespect for a Court, (however limited the sphere of its authority,) by excluding it from the family of Sovereign Associates by diplomatic representatives. The eighteenth century was prolific in the personal memoirs of active diplomatists, and no American can pursue them without being amazed, at the utter insignificance of the various topics which engaged their attention, and which were swelled into consequences by the passions and interests of the retainers of corrupt courts. They are subjects beneath contempt; and their influence upon the fate of nations is buried with the men who gave them a fictitious importance. He who rises from the perusal of one of these records of human follies, can go longer wonder at the remark of a Swedish statesman, "that it took very little wisdom to govern the world, as the world was then governed." But while I maintain that the cessation of Diplomatic intercourse with Austria, would give the Government of that country no just cause of offense, I do not seek to deny or conceal, that the motives for the adoption of this Resolution will be unacceptable, and peculiarly obnoxious to the feelings of a power proverbially haughty, in the days of its prosperity, and rendered more susceptible by recent events, which have destroyed much of its ancient *prestige*, and compelled it to call for Russian aid in the perilous circumstances, where the noble efforts of Hungary to assert her just rights, had placed the oppressor in a position of danger. On the contrary, the course I propose would lose half its value, were any doubts to rest upon the motives that dictate it; and certainly were they not open to the day, I should not look for that candid approbation, which I now anticipate from the American people, for this first effort to rebuke, by an expression of public opinion, through an established Government, in the name of a great republic, atrocious acts of despotism, by which human liberty and life have been sacrificed, under circumstances of audacious contempt for the rights of mankind, and the sentiments of the civilized world—without a parallel even in this age of warfare—between the oppressed and the oppressor. I say this first effort, for though the principal of public disapprobation in situations not dissimalar, may be traced in the proceedings of at least one of the representative bodies of Europe,—I do not recollect that any formal act has been adopted, rendering the censure more signal and enduring, if we take the first step in this noble course, where physical force, with its flagitious abuse, if not conquered, may be ultimately restrained by moral considerations, we shall add to the value of the term of "76," already so important to the world, and destined to become far more so, by furnishing one guaranty more for the preservation of human rights, where they exist, and for their recovery where they are lost.

Mr. President—I do not mistake the position of my country, nor do I seek to exaggerate her importance by these suggestions. I am perfectly aware that whatever we may do or say, the immediate march of Austria will be onward in the course of despotism, with a step feebler or firmer, as resistance may appear near or remote, until she is stayed by one of those upheavings of the People, which is as sure to come as that man longs for Freedom, and longs to strike the blow which shall make it his. Pride is blind and power tenacious, and Austrian pride and power, though they may quail before the signs of the times, before barricades, and fraternization, by which streets are made fortresses, and armies, revolutionized—new but mighty engines in popular warfare—will hold out in their citadel until the last extremity. But many old things are passing away, and Austrian despotism will pass away, in its turn—its bulwarks will be shaken by the rushing of mighty winds, and by the voice of the world, whenever a benignant expression is not restrained by the kindred sympathies of arbitrary power.—I desire not to be misunderstood. I do not mean that in all the Revolutionary struggles which political contests bring on, it would be expedient for other Governments to express their feelings of interest and sympathy. I think they should not, for there are obvious considerations which forbid this action and the value of this kind of moral interposition would be diminished by its too frequent occurrence. It should be reserved for great events, marked by great crimes and oppression on the one side, and great misfortunes and exertions on the other, and circumstances will carry with them the sympathies of the world, like the partition of Poland and the subjugation of Hungary. We can offer public congratulations, as we have done to people crowned by success in their struggle for freedom. We can offer our recognition of their independence to others, as we have done, while yet the effort was pending. Have we sympathy only for the unfortunate, or in a cause less dear or sacred because it is prostrated in the dust at the feet of power? Let the noble sentiments of Washington, in his stirring reply to the French Minister, answer these questions. "Born in a land of liberty, my anxious recollections, my sympathetic feelings, and my best wishes are irresistibly excited, whenever, in any country, I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banner of freedom." I freely confess that I shall hail the day with pleasure, when the Government, reflecting the true sentiments of the people, shall express its sympathy for struggling millions, seeking that liberty which was given to them by God, but has been wrested from them by man. I do not see any danger to the true independence of nations by such a course and indeed I am by no means certain, that the free interchange of public views in this solemn manner, would not go far towards checking the progress of oppression, and the tendency to war. Why, sir the very discussion in high places and free places, even where discussion is followed by no act, is, I believe, a great element of retributive justice, to punish it, where an atrocious deed is done, and a great element of moral power to restrain it, when such a deed is contemplated. I claim for our country no exemption from the decrees of these high tribunals, and when we are guilty of a tithe of the oppression and cruelty which have made the Austria name a name of reproach through the world, I hope we shall receive, as we shall well merit, the condemnation of mankind. I anticipate with confidence the hearty co-operation of the distinguished Senator from Kentucky in this effort, though I fear the distinguished gentleman is becoming conservative; he cannot fail, however, to sustain the noble reputation he achieved in the affairs of the South American Republic.

Mr. CASS then made several extracts from Mr. Clay's past speeches upon the subjects of Spanish and Turkish cruelties and drew a parallel between them and the cruelties of Haynau. He felt also authorized to anticipate the cordial co-operation of the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, who, upon a recent occasion, expressed his sympathy with down-trodden Hungary, in a strain of indignant eloquence, which would have done honor to the elder Pitt in the best days of his intellect. [Then followed quotations from Mr. Webster.] Mr. C. expressed his fears that Mr. Webster had also grown conservative with his increased years. He continued: "Here comes another episode in the history of this flagitious abuse of power." He then pronounced a eulogium upon Kossuth, tracing his history and achievements down to the time of his final betrayal, overthrow and flight, and his hospitable reception in Turkey. He then eulogises the Grand Turk, and referred, in an eloquent strain, to his own acquiescence with the present Sultan. He asserted that Americans were no political propogandists. They do not undertake to determine what political institutions are best for other nations, or to establish elsewhere their own. To contend that liberty can be maintained under a Constitutional Monarchy, would be to contradict the evidences of our senses; for we know a Republic is best, and therefore have it; but there is no American who does not sincerely desire the restoration of the masses of all people to their rights and to the dignity of human nature. Action, such as is now proposed will encourage the oppressed people of Europe to bear evil, bravely, while they must—as men who hope and who desire to resist oppression, which cannot longer be borne—exert themselves as men who peril all upon the effort.

Mr. CASS then read from the London *Times*, an address to Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston from eighty-three members of the Houses of Lords, and Commons, requesting the influence of the British Government to endeavor to restrain that of Austria from further butchery. He passed under review the right of Hungary, with reference to its Constitution, and its connection with Austria. He examined the charter of the Hungarian Government which swept away the liberties of Hungary, and justified that Power in every subsequent step she took. He described the condition of Hungary, as

distinguished citizen, for whom I have much personal regard, had left Kentucky on the 22d of December, to proceed upon a mission to Mexico. He will never receive my vote to remain there. I do not understand this unseemly haste—this flight from the judgment of the Senate, as though confirmation were rendered necessary by the public expense they incurred, and a sort of obligation consequently imposed upon this depository of a portion of the Executive power, to conform its action to the action of the President. I trust that no such motives will influence our conduct, but that we shall take a course which, while it asserts the rights of the country, will restore to the Senate its efficiency and control, and will not yield, I will not say to the cupidity, but I will say, to the earnest desire for office, which was never more powerful, nor more powerfully displayed than now.

Mr. SEWARD expressed his deep regret that a speech so able and so eloquent as that to which the Senate had just listened, should have been embarrassed at the close with remarks relative to the fitness and actions of the highly honorable gentleman who fills the mission proposed to be suspended. Such remarks, by every rule of precedent and propriety, belong to the Executive Session of this Senate, and their utterance, under the circumstances, was matter for great surprise and deep regret. He expressed his confident, long-continued, devoted and abiding friendship for the gentleman whose name and appointment had been thus dragged into the Senate, and was happy in being able to state to the Senate that he held in his possession proofs which would in a great measure palliate, if not entirely excuse the proceeding which had been so unsparingly condemned. He might say that the proofs he possessed would entirely remove any imputation upon that honorable gentleman, of having endeavored to fly from the action of the Senate, upon his nomination, and yet he could not present those proofs here, when the charge had been made, without deeply injuring that honorable gentleman in his domestic relations. The injustice of parading this matter before the Senate, under these circumstances, would be seen, and he would ask a suspension of opinion on the part of the Senate for the present, that when he introduced the evidence to which he had referred it might be presented to unprejudiced minds and unbiassed judgments.

Mr. CASS replied, that his personal feelings towards Colonel Webb were as friendly, and his relations, independently of politics, as intimate as those of the Senator from New York; but it must be seen that this was not a question of personal fitness, but that the circumstances to which reference had been made, might properly become matter for legislative consideration, and in that view it was subject for discussion in open session, with a view to the passage of some law which shall regulate affairs of this kind, and prevent the repetition of conduct such as that which he had condemned.

Mr. FOOTE said that the question whether a gentleman who had been nominated for a foreign mission could respectfully, becomingly, and with impunity, fly from the investigation of the Senate just upon the eve of its meeting, was one that very properly came before the Senate in open session, at the very time the offense arises. He then proceeded with lengthened and occasionally humorous remarks relative to Mr Seward and his course, and his connection with Colonel Webb. He also charged him with having interfered with the action of Congress at the last Session, upon the question of Slavery in connection with California, and attempting to dictate to both Houses the course which they should pursue. He referred to the letter by Mr. Seward published in the *Intelligencer* at that time, commenting upon it is a curious epistle, and, finally returning to Colonel Webb, said he should not have left the country as he did, and that his rejection ought to follow as the penalty of that act.

Mr. HALE—As this resolution proposed a change in the policy of the Government—hoped it would not be hastily acted upon. For the purpose of giving time for its further consideration, he moved that it be laid on the table for the present.

Mr. CASS suggested that it was only a resolution of inquiry.

Mr. HALE knew that; but he thought this the proper time to meet the measure, and not after it should come back to the Senate with a Report of the Committee.—At the suggestion of several Senators, he then withdrew his former motion, and moved that the further consideration of the subject be postponed until Monday.—Agreed to.

JANUARY 7.

Numerous petitions and memorials, among which were a large number asking Indemity for French Spoliations, were presented and referred.

Mr. CLAY presented a petition, numerously signed, asking the recognition of the Republic of Liberia. Referred to Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. DICKINSON presented a petition of citizens of New York, without distinction of party, asking that no appropriation may be made for the Embassy to Austria.

A Message was received from the President.

Mr. COOPER presented memorials praying for the modification of the Tariff.

Mr. BENTON gave notice of a bill proposing to the State of Texas the reduction of her boundaries, the cession of her exterior territories, and the relinquishment of all her claims on the United States.

Mr. FOOTE proposed a resolution to go into an election of Chaplains Laid over.

Mr. UNDERWOOD introduced a bill to provide for the payment of the unpaid claims of the officers and soldiers of the Virginia State and Continental lines of the Revolutionary Army.

Mr. YULEE introduced a bill providing for the payment for horses and other property lost in the service of the United States.

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of the resolution submitted several days since by Mr. Houston, calling for correspondence relative to interference by military authorities in Sante Fé with the Judicial authority of Texas, which was agreed to.

Mr. SOULE submitted a resolution of inquiry into the cause of the irregularity of the mails between Washington and New Orleans.

The Senate proceeded to consider Mr CLEMENS's resolution, calling upon the President for copies of instructions given to civil or military Governors of California since the 4th of March last, or to any agent of the Government, relative to the organization of a State Government; also how the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were elected? What were their qualifications? and whether any census of California had been taken? and under what law, and also on what grounds the President bases the opinion expressed in his Annual Message, "that New Mexico will speedily ask admission into the Union as a State?"

Mr. DAWSON moved to amend by adding a clause calling for a statement of all orders and acts of the preceding Administration on the same subject.

Mr. MILLER moved to strike out the last clause of the resolution.

Mr. RUSK opposed the motion; he said that public rumor stated, it was believed truly, that the action of the people of New Mexico with reference to their organization of a State Government, was directed by the officers and agents of the Government of the United States. He thought the question ought to come before the Senate, whether the United States Government ought to thus interfere with a Territory over which a sovereign State claimed or exercised jurisdiction

Mr. DOUGLASS hoped this resolution would be allowed to pass by informally, in order that action might be had upon resolutions which no debate would arise.

Mr. CLEMENS said that the Senator from Mississipi (Mr. FOOTE) had given notice of a resolution in relation to the Government of Territories, in the discussion on which the information which the resolution under discussion called for, would be absolutely necessary. The resolution called for nothing that ought not to have been given in the President's Message.

If that paper had been what it ought to have been, the resolution would never have been presented. This was no partizan movement on his part. His attention had been called to the subject by the Legislature of Alabama. They believe that a fraud had been committed upon that State, and upon the South, and they wanted information upon that point. An attempt was being made to force the Wilmot Proviso upon the South, under a new guise. It was, however, like a bitter medicine, though it might be covered with sugar, it was still nauseous.

The matter was one of vital importance to the South. They had a right to know all about it, and for one he should have the information in one way or another. He would do all in his power to harmonize and to allay undue excitement; but he would not consent to groupe in the dark for want of information to which he was entitled.

Mr DOUGLASS would be as ready as any one to vote for most searching inquiries upon proper occasions, but was desirous that this resolution might go over until to-morrow, because the prior order had been postponed for the purpose of acting upon resolutions, which would not give rise to debate. He moved that the resolution be laid on the table and printed

Mr. MASON asked Mr. Douglass to withdraw his motion, in order to permit debate.

Mr. DOUGLASS proceeded to state why he could not withdraw.

Mr. BUTLER—I call the Senator from Illinois to order.

Mr. DOUGLASS—Why did not the gentleman from S. C call his friend from Va. to order when he asked me the question? Was it order to ask a question and refuse to receive an answer?

Mr. BUTLER—I call the Senator to order. I have no other explanation to make in the Senate.

The question being then taken on the motion to lay on the table, the yeas were 29, nays 29. The Vice President voted in the affirmative; so the resolution was then laid on the table.

Some other business having taken place,

The Senate resumed the consideration of the question, relative to diplomatic relations with Austria.

Mr. CASS referred to his remark on Friday last, to the Hon. Mr. LEITCHER, Minister to Mexico, and said that he felt called upon to remark in justice to that gentleman, that he started on his mission by express instructions of the Department, in consequence of some peculiar circumstances which seemed to create a necessity for his immediate presence at his post.

Mr. HALE did not rise to oppose the resolution. He had never listened with so much satisfaction to any speech as he did to that of the Senator from Michigan, on this resolution. He was more than satisfied—he was gratified—in listening to his eloquent appeal in the name of humanity! He cordially agreed with the Senator from Michigan when he intimated that the cause of the oppressed was more sacred when the nation was trodden down and trampled under foot; and when he said that this Government, in expressing the sentiments of the people, must sympathize with a people struggling for the liberty given them by God, but wrested from them by man. He agreed with the Senator, also, in the sentiment, that the discussion of this subject will do much toward repressing future aggressions upon the independence of nations, and he agreed also with another Senator, when he said that his sympathies were reserved for the masses of mankind. He was glad that these admissions had come from other lips, as had they fallen from him they would have been called fanaticism.

The gentleman from Michigan has to-day thrown his fortune and his truth into the carrying out of these sentiments. He would make for himself a name greater far even than that which he now enjoys. The gentlemen proposed inquiry into the "expediency" of suspending diplomatic relations That was a bad term—it should be propriety, justice, duty, &c., not a question of "expediency." This was a bad word, and then in connection with the Senator's statistics relative to the unimportance of Austria's commerce, and her scarcity of ports, it amounted to an annunciation that we can utter a considerable amount of proper indignation at a very slight expense. The Senate, under this resolution, was to constitute itself a High Court to try the Nations of the Earth for their crimes of Oppression and atrocious acts of Despotism, committed under aggravated circumstances. This was a high power, and the historian, if the resolution was acted upon, would, in future years, write down that this was the most enlightened Republic that ever lived or ever will live; forgetting the little petty concerns of home and gravely constituting itself a Court to try the Nations of the Earth for their crimes. If this were to be done, he desired that the historians would state that we commenced not with some poor, second-rate, feeble power, a difficulty with whom would cost but little, but with Russia, whose arms it was that conquered Hungary. He wanted to go still further back, and inquire into the case of those exiles who were banished to the Siberia snows. He hoped, also, that the partition of Poland would not be barred by a statute of limitation, for that was in the speech of the Senator from Michigan. When we had got through with Russia, he wanted to go to England and inquire into her treatment of Ireland and her noble patriots; of India, with her thousands of murdered defenders. Next, he would proceed with France, and try her for her acts of despotism, not forgetting the wrongs of Africa. Again, while the Court was sitting, he would arraign Spain, upon whose territory, also, the aspirants for civil and political liberty had fallen. After we had tried all the nations of Christendom, he would desire that we should bind ourselves also to come down from our high position—we of the Model Republic—to stand on trial before some Court of Indignation. He did not know, however, who could try us; certainly we could be tried by none of those nations whom we had condemned, because they were not our Peers. Suppose then the Sovereign of Turkey, who, as the senator of Michigan says, has proved himself a better Christian than many other Powers of the Earth, should agree to constitute a Court of Indignation to try us. Suppose, also, he should have seen an *Union*, published near this place, which announced that men, women and children, are to be sold here, in this, the Capital of the Model Republic, Washington, bearing the name of the Father of American liberties.—Would it not appear before that Court which tried us, that we had been, and were continuing to be, guilty of oppressions, great and deep, as any which Austria, Russia, or France had committed? Truth and justice would reply in the affirmative, and he feared it would appear, that the sovereign of Turkey was not only a better Christian than we, but that Turkey was a better Republic also.

Mr. CLAY said, the appeal made to him the other day, by the senator from Michigan, to aid him in this proposition, no less than his respect for that gentleman and the Senate, demanded a reply. The proposition originally offered or with the amendment, was a great and a grave one, as all subjects were which were connected with Foreign Affairs. It proposed not simply the recall of our own Minister, but the sending out of the country the Minister of another Power already here. Why was it made a Resolution of Inquiry? All the facts upon which the senator based his proposition were historical—the origin of the war, and the punishments inflicted, were well known to the Senate and to the country. The proposition, therefore, should be considered in the same light as a positive direction to some action carrying out the ultimate object of the resolution. The Senate was just as well prepared as ever it could be, to decide whether we should suspend diplomatic intercourse. He did not believe that the senator from Alabama, (Mr. King,) if he had given that his usual careful consideration, could give it his sanction.

He referred to the eloquent language in which Mr. Cass had set forth the sufferings of Hungary, and said, there was another way in which the detestation of Austria's course could be manifested with much more benefit to those who had been down-trodden by the tyrant. Let the Hon. senator bring forward some plan by which succor and comfort could be given to the numerous exiles who were now fleeing to this land, from the oppressor, whom they vainly endeavored to repel, and the gentleman would find him ready to advocate it with all the power he possessed.

Instead of suspending diplomatic relations with Austria, he would send to that government some enlightened citizen, who would command the confidence of the country. The Hon senator from Michigan, himself, would be a most appropriate person to send on such an interesting occasion, to sue for some consideration for Hungary,—to plead her cause, and to endeavor to obtain for her that redress and consideration, which her wrongs, and her bravery were entitled to.

The object of foreign missions was not to benefit the country to which we send representatives, but to protect American interests abroad. It was proposed, because of our abhorrence of Austrian butcheries and Austria's disregard of Hungarian independence, to punish American merchants and sailors, and to deprive our citizens of whatever advantage might be derived from the diplomatic relations existing between the two nations. Such a course could be justified by no argument whatever.

Mr CLAY also vindicated the consistency of his present action, in view of his former course with reference to the South American States referred to by Cass in his speech.

If it was agreed that it was proper that the United States Government should take any action on this subject, it might more justly be had with reference to Russia, who had interfered upon a shallow pretext, and defeated Hungarian independence when she had already achieved it.

Mr. CLAY also proceeded to show, by cogent argument and familiar illustrations, that if the precedent or the principle in question were established, there were no limitations, qualifications or restrictions as to how far, or on what subject, whether religion, morals or what not, which could be adopted. The course to be pursued was in direct contradiction to the policy laid down and followed by Washington and every Administration to the present time.

If we were to become the censors of nations, where were we to stop, and why should we look to the case of Hungary alone? Why not take up the cause of Ireland? and still more that of unhappy Rome, which had been alluded to?—The gentleman expressed the fear that he belonged to the stand-still school politicians; he would like to hear a definition of the progress which the gentleman designed to advocate. The party of which that gentleman was a distinguished disciple, were opposed to the improvement of our great watercourses, and also to a system of progress which should relieve us from a dependence for necessaries of life upon a foreign land. What then did he mean by progress?

Mr. CLAY feared that the progress which he advocated was a progression of conquests, Territorial aggrandizement, and foreign wars. If so, he thanked God that he was of the stand-still school, as opposed to such a progress as that to which he had alluded. In conclusion, he did not think it became the Senate to take such unnecessary, perilous ground as he had proposed, and hoped the Senate would at once reject the proposition, without reference or hesitation.

Mr. FOOTE arose to address the Senate on Hale's amendment, but yielded to a motion to adjourn, which was agreed to.

JANUARY 8.

Mr. UNDERWOOD presented a memorial from citizens of Kentucky, setting forth the evils of war, and asking Congress to take measures for the Establishment of a Congress of Nations, who shall arbitrate disputed matters between different powers.

Mr. UNDERWOOD then stated that he entirely agreed with the memorialists in the sentiment of this petition.

Numerous other memorials were presented.

Mr. UPHAM presented resolutions of the Legislature of Vermont, on the subject of Slavery, which he moved be printed.

Mr. MANGUM moved that the motion to receive the resolutions be laid on the table.

Mr. HALE demanded the Yeas and Nays.

Mr. UPHAM expressed the hope that the Senate would not depart from the usual custom of receiving and printing all resolutions from Legislatures of Sovereign States.

Mr. KING contended that the usual course was, upon the presentation of resolutions of this character, to receive them and lay them on the table.

Mr. MANGUM here agreeing with the suggestion of Mr. King, withdraw his objection, and the resolutions were received.

The question recurring upon a motion to print.

Mr. YULEE said that although the Senate might receive the resolutions, he would not, by voting to print, consent to give dignity to a document containing language opprobrious, offensive and insulting to the people he had the honor to represent, and to the sister State of Vermont; language more insulting than contained in any resolutions ever before presented to this body. They charged that the South are guilty of crime against humanity, and of violating the Constitution. He could not consent to perform an act of even courtesy to such a paper as that. He would vote against the printing, and wanted it to be distinctly understood, as a token of reprehension.

Mr. BUTLER would not oppose the printing of these resolutions, as they emanated from a sovereign State; and for one, he preferred that such documents, sent here by the Northern Legislatures, should be printed, that the people of the Southern States may be informed of the progress of sentiment on this subject. He had no intention of fighting this battle upon every collateral issue which might come up.

Mr. PHELPS said that during the ten years he had been in this body, he had generally avoided this troublesome question. He had met it once or twice, but in a spirit of conciliation, and he would never meet it with any other. This was a subject upon which a people were at liberty to express their views of it, no less than the gentleman from Florida. He had deprecated and avoided all irritating discussion, and regretted that this question could not be met in a calm, conciliatory friendly spirit. It was a mere question of policy, to be settled by Congress in its discretion. If they found the institution right, they would let it alone. If otherwise, in the District of Columbia, it was their duty to abolish it. The sentiments expressed by the state of Vermont, were the sentiments of the civilized world; and should not be met with terms of reproach. They called upon Congress to perform its duty where it possess the power, and not to interfere with the internal policy of the States, but simply to act, where it has the power to do so,—to do their duty when it is made plain to them. When the question should be raised whether this institution shall be co-extensive with our territory or not, he would act in accordance with his judgment, and say, let it be where it is in the States, but do not extend it where it is not already established.

Mr. BERRIEN could not agree with the senator from South Carolina, that it was proper to print these resolutions for the purpose of letting the south understand the progres of sentiment at the north. He could not agree either that the opinion of the Legislature of Vermont is that of the civilized world, and could not be tempted to entertain the consideration of the great question upon a collateral issue, even upon the reiteration by the senator;—an opinion which, if true, placed the citizens of the slave states beyond the pale of civilization. He could not consent to publish to the world the private instructions given to senators and representatives from the north, by their legislatures. He did not think it necessary, he repeated, to take this course, either, to inform the south of the opinion of the north. Their sentiments were already well understood, and the south had taken action with reference thereto. Although he would vote at all times to show all proper respect to communications made to Congress by the legislatures of sovereign States, he would not consent to sanction the presentation here of the mere instructions given for the private guidance of the senators and representatives of those states?

Mr. UPHAM said his resolutions were similar in language and form to many others which have been and are daily presented, received and printed by order of the Senate. Others were the same as those presented a day or two since from Michigan, and though opposite in sentiment, the same in form, as resolutions which have, time after time, been presented from the southern States, using quite as strong language, and even threatening dissolution.

Mr. MASON said that the path of the south was fairly and fully marked out upon this question, and he did not desire that path should be obstructed by the least collateral issue. He agreed with the senator from South Carolina, in the sentiments he had uttered, and must say that he thought the objection made by the senator from Georgia, savored rather too much of special pleading. If the State of Vermont or New York, or any other State, thought it due to their own respect to indulge in such language as this, let it be printed and go down to posterity; and let those States take the responsibility of their own acts. These resolutions charged Slavery to be a crime. If Vermont deemed it respectful to herself to use such language, let it be recorded upon the page of history. If this issue was to be forced upon the south, he wanted these evidences of their wrongs and insults to be recorded, together with the history of events growing out of them. The State of Virginia has resolved to protect at every hazard her honor and integrity; and while she made no threats, if the issue was forced upon her, it would be found that she would make good the resolution which she had passed.

Mr. HALE said that with one single exception, on the 9th January, 1839, the course of the Senate had been directly opposite to that stated by those who opposed the motion to print. On that occasion, there were 29 Yeas and 8 Nays for laying a similar resolution on the table. With that single exception, all resolutions of this kind, and no matter how offensive to the gentlemen who differed with him on this subject, have been received and printed without objection. Now it seems that after the lapse of eleven years, it was proposed to try this thing again on Vermont. He thought these resolutions very harmless things after all. The fact was that there had been a small band of Fanatics out East, and so much noise had been made about them lately that folks began to think there was more of them than there really were, and as Fanatics had votes there the same as other people, it was thought of some consequence by politicians that they should be secured. With this view, these resolutions had been passed. They were intended entirely for home use, and that was the reason that no instructions had been given to the senators and representatives to present them to Congress. [Laughter.] It would be seen, then, that after all, they were very harmless things, and that there was very little *resolution* about them. The Vermont legislature would have to elect a senator next year, and it would be particularly convenient to have good resolutions to show at that time.

Mr. PHELPS said he did not know but the senator from New Hampshire, was about right in his view of the matter in which resolutions were generally passed; and then proceeded to vindicate the right of a legislature to present a statement of its views, on any subject, and its right to have a respectful hearing. If Virginia had marked out her course, and that course was simply in vindication of her own rights and honor, that was all very proper; but if it was a course of dictation to Congress, as to what action shall be had upon the regulation of the Territories,—she has marked a course which she had no right or power to assume.

Mr. RUSK moved that the resolution be laid on the table. The Yeas and Nays were then demanded, and ordered upon the motion, and being taken resulted in Yeas 11, Nays 46.

Yeas—Messrs. Berrien, Calhoun, Davis of Miss. Dawson, Downs, Houston, Rusk, Soule, Stewart, Turney, Yulee—11.

Nays—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Baldwin, Bell, Benton, Borland, Bradbury, Bright, Butler, Chase, Clark, Clay, Clemens, Cooper, Corwin, Davis of Mass., Dayton, Dickinson, Dodge of Iowa, Dodge of Wis., Douglass, Felch, Foote, Goode, Hale, Hamlin, Hunter, Jones, Mangum, Mason, Miller, Morton, Norris, Pierce, Phelps, Sebastian, Seward, Shields, Smith, Spruance, Sturgeon, Underwood, Upham, Wales, Walker, Whitcomb—46.

The question recurring on the motion to print, Mr. Hale said the senator from Vermont had very frankly admitted that he had rightly represented the manner in which such resolutions were generallly adopted at the north, and expressed the hope that some gentleman representing the other great party on the subject of Slavery would as frankly state to the senate whether the same representation would properly apply to resolutions on the same subject passed by the legislatures of their section. Again, he wished to correct a remark which he understood had been misapprehended. If he was understood to say that there was not in the north a great and growing dissatisfaction among the masses, because of the present and prespective influence of the institution of Slavery upon the legislation of the country, he had been grossly misapprehended. He would say now, as he had said before that there was such great and growing feeling of dissatisfaction, which would be manifested, however, within the pale of the Constitution; and also that the north would hold to strict accountability those of their representatives who failed to represent at all times, and upon all occasions, this sentiment:

Mr. CALHOUN explained that he had voted against laying the Resolutions on the table, simply because, when the hour of 1 o'clock arrived, it was usual to proceed with the regular order of the day. He would vote also for the printing, but assigned no reason for the vote. As to the great question which had been incidentally discussed, this was not the proper time to debate it. He would only say, that the South were ready to meet the question at the proper time, and prepared to meet it as it should be met

Mr. BORLAND felt bound not to extend courtesy in return for terms of approbium and disgrace. The resolutions declared the people represented here to be criminal,—not so unfortunate as to be mistaken,—but calls us criminal. Not only that, but they read the slaveholding community out of the pale of civilization. Not only did they cast approbium and insult upon them, but stated, in broad terms, that the South was holding their property in violation of the spirit of the Constitution; and yet these resolutions referred to conciliation: conciliation indeed! He should despise himself if he could stand here calm and unexcited on this subject. Under such circumstances, he could not agree with the robber who met him on the highway, and demanded his purse; the assassin who sought to stab him in the back, or the incendiary who at midnight, applied the torch to his dwelling to consume his wife and children; and he should expect his constituents to despise and denounce him, if he could coolly witness these insulting attempts at oppression upon their reputation.

Mr. CHASE obtained the floor, but gave way to a motion to pass the subject over informally for the present, which was agreed to.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations be instructed to inquire into the expediency of suspending diplomatic relations with Austria.

Mr. FOOTE, having the floor, proceeded to address the Senate. It seemed to him that the question under discussion had been greatly misunderstood, or had been, in the hurry of debate, commented upon by gentlemen opposed to it in a manner wholly unauthored by its terms. The question was merely whether the Committee on Foreign Relations was to be instructed to inquire into the expediency of suspending diplomatic relations with Austria. It was not a question of war or peace, nor yet a question of aggression on the rights of a Foreign Nation. It was not connected ever so remotely, with the question of war or peace between this country and Austria; yet as such it had been discussed. The distinguished gentlemen who had opposed the resolution, had exhibited their strong opposition upon the ground of the probability of its disturbing the relations existing between this country and Austria. However the Senate might differ as to the precise course which they ought to pursue, in connection with the question now before the Senate no one, here or elsewhere, would undertake to call in question the fact, that the resolution was one of the greatest importance, involving the honor of the country and the cause of Freedom throughout the civilized world. But the Senators from Kentucky, (Mr. Clay) and New Hampshire, (Mr. Hale) have exhibited their opposition.

Mr. HALE inquired why the Senator said he had opposed the resolution. He was in favor of it.

Mr. FOOTE.—The gentleman knows as well as any other man in the world, how to seem to be the rose and yet to be the serpent under it. [Laughter.] He paid a high compliment to Mr. Clay, who was direct in all his attacks, and who dared to maintain his opinion at any and all times; and proceeded to deny any unkind feeling or intentions in remarks which he had made, or would make in future. He then went on to reply to the remarks made yesterday by Mr. Clay, in the course of which he disclaimed all idea of at present fighting the Administration. He desired to keep these gentlemen on their good behavior for a while, until he could ascertain where they were, and having ascertained that point, he would regulate his treatment according to their acts.

He then proceeded to consider the various points and arguments in Mr. Clay's speech, taking them up *seriatim*, commenting upon them and defending the Resolution as presented in the remarks of Mr. Cass. He quoted from the speeches of Mr. Clay on kindred subjects in former years, and argued that his present course was incopsistent with the sentiments he there so manfully espoused; and in conclusion made an appeal to the Senate to adopt the Resolution, and show to the world our detestation of tyrant's acts and our sympathy for his victims. He called upon the Senate in the name of the people of this land—twenty millions strong—not to disappoint the earnest expectation which existed both at home and abroad, that the American people, through their representatives, would set the seal of disapprobation upon Austrian brutality, and rebuke her tyranny and oppression.

Mr. FOOTE having concluded, the Senate, at 4 o'clock, adjourned.

JANUARY 10.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the motion to print the resolution of the Vermont Legislature on the subject of Slavery.

Mr. CHASE proceeded to remark upon the threatening intimations thrown out during the debate, by Southern gentlemen, and inquired into the reasons for such intimations Had not the South always had their full share in the Legislation, the honors and power of the country; and did they not still maintain their legitimate positions in all these respects? Why is it that the South endeavored to dictate to the advocates of freedom, telling them that they must not press their views upon the South, and in the same breath saying to the North, that if a certain course is not pursued, they will dissolve the Union? Why was not the question met in the true spirit which dictated the compromise of '87; the spirit which actuated the Fathers of the Republic? He designed no aggression upon the South; he only asked that Congress should do its duty within the Constitution, and prevent the extension of Slavery, and absolve the North from participation in its support where it exists under the sanction of Federal laws. He would be the last man to propose an interference with it in the States.

Mr. CLEMENS said these resolutions did not stop where the Senator from Ohio did. They went much further—they not only objected to the extension of Slavery, but also insisted on its abolition in every State which has come into the Union since the adoption of the Constitution. He would vote for the printing of these resolutions—for 50,000 copies of them, if the Senator would move it. He wanted the South to understand them. He thought it time that the South should understand this matter, and know what encroachments the North proposed. The gentleman has said he was not to be intimidated. Sir, we don't want to intimidate him; we want him to come up and face the music. We of the South have not endeavored to intimidate the North; our actions have been impelled by different motives. The North have told us, time after time, that our opposition to their aggression was not genuine, that we did not mean anything when we said we would resist. In view of that we have united in expressing to you our firm determination to resist, to the last, any further encroachment.

We believe that Abolition will never pause, in the midst of its existence, and that one triumph will but lead to the attempt to achieve another. If we yield to their present demand, we will soon be called upon to yield others; the internal slave trade, the abolition of Slavery in the States created since the formation of the Constitution, and finally, wherever it might exist. The gentleman had said that he belonged to the Free Democracy. He understood him to be in favor of a strict construction of the Constitution. Where did he find the provision which gives Congress power to legislate on Slavery anywhere? Mr. Clemens referred to the various battles of this country, from the wars of the Revolution to the present day, to show that Southern Generals, and Southern blood, had won for the South at least an equal participation in the advantages and privileges of the country. He contended that the Constitution did give them this equal participation, and guaranteed them in their privileges of property; but if the Constitution did not do that in terms, for one, he was prepared to maintain their natural rights under any and all circumstances.

The Union was valuable only for the rights it secures, and if it was desired that the South should remain in the Union, they must be treated with justice, and unless that could be done, let nothing be said to him about the glories of the Union. Union with degradation was worse, ten thousand times, than disunion, no matter what might be its consequences. The North had insulted and attempted to degrade the South by appeals from the pulpit even. They had hired lecturers to inflame the public mind, and printed and circulated pamphlets among the slaves, in which the grossest misrepresentations were coupled with the most inflammatory appeals to the worst passions of the slave; thus placing the lives, peace and property of the South in jeopardy. He also referred to the speech made by Mr. Seward in Ohio, and said that he had taken much broader ground on the question of Slavery than Mr. Chase. He had burst through all bonds; and others of the North, who pretended to advocate the same cause with him, ought to blush for their feeble advocacy. The feelings expressed in that speech was not simply that of a few hot-brained fanatics of the North. There were too many damning evidences that they were the sentiments of the great body of the people whom he represented in the Senate. The responsibility, then was removed from that gentleman's shoulders and rested upon the people who sent him there. The South had a right to take his exposition of the sentiments of his constituents, and they would hold them accordingly They had made no threats of dissolution;—the Union was already dissolved. It had been dissolved when the North committed the robberies upon the South;—its aggressions upon their rights and their honor. If the North wanted the Union to be preserved, let them repeal the laws which violated the Constitution, and deprived the South of her rights under that instrument. A spirit had been awakened in the South that must be satisfied. If they demanded a restoration of their rights and position, they were in earnest on this subject, and would give evidence of the fact if the issue was pressed upon them. The Senator from Vermont had said, that these resolutions expressed the sentiments of the civilized world. Sir, no man having a proper respect would have dared, upon this floor, to give expression to such sentiments as these. No body of men deserved to be recognized as belonging to a civilized country, would ever have so foregone the respect due themselves, and to their fellow-citizens, as to give expression to such sentiments. Crimination and re-crimination, whether in memorials, resolutions or anything else, were highly impolitic, unnecessary and improper. Let all questions be calmly and deliberately presented and considered, and let no one be intimidated, as he would not be, from the performance of his duty, whenever it presented itself as that duty.

Mr. HALE remarked that the honorable Senator from Alabama had convinced him of one thing, if he had failed to convince him of anything else, and that was, that concession to fanatics never satisfies fanaticism. He wanted the North to know that fact, and expressed the hope that when Northern Senators and Representatives return to their homes, they would impress it upon the timid and wavering everywhere, that concession never satisfies fanatics. He must also say that he was gratified exceedingly with one of the remarks made by that Senator, and that he believed that the whole North would be gratified also. There were yet a great many timid good folks at home who had been very much frightened by the speeches made here, and seemed very much alarmed about the "wreck of matter and crush of world" sort of sentiments with reference to the dissolution, not alone upon the Slavery question. Well, now, it strikes me that these timid people will feel great joy when they come to find out that the Union has been dissolved, for, says the honorable Senator, and they know nothing about it. [Laughter.] I will relate a little circumstance that occurred once in my recollection, when I was justice of the peace, for I filled that office once before I became a Senator. A couple came to me to be united in the holy bonds of wedlock; well, I made short work of it. I said to the man, do you take this woman to be your wife? Certainly, said he, I came here on purpose. [Laughter.] Then said I to the lady, do you take this man to be your husband? *Yes I do*, said she. Then you are man and wife, I replied, that's all. Both of them looked at me with evident astonishment, and after a pause, the lady asked me, "is that all?" [Great laughter.] Yes, I replied, you are man and wife. Well, she remarked, it is not such a mighty affair after all. [Renewed merriment.] Well, sir, I think that would be the case with these timid advocates of freedom when they read the speech of my honorable friend. They will conclude that dissolution was so much mighty affair after all. The Senator had presumed to speak for the South:—the right of any one gentleman to speak for the whole South had been questioned on this floor—the South being a considerable of a country. He did not design to speak for the whole North, but he must be allowed to speak for a small piece of it, which lies a good way north, New Hampshire. The Senator had referred to the factory operatives of the North, and, as other gentlemen had done several times in his presence, alluded to them as slaves. Indeed, he had been appealed to by gentlemen who honestly endeavored to assure him that the factory operatives of the North could not compare in physical comforts, nor in moral or intellectual privileges, with the Southern slaves. As he lived in a town mostly made of this class of persons, he thought proper to make some explanation, and if he erred, his colleague, who also lived in a manufacturing town, would correct him. The village in which he lived contained over 1,000 female operatives; in the same village over $300,000 were on deposit in the Savings' Bank; more than one-half of which was deposited by these Factory Slaves, so called. Sir, they are most of them the daughters of individuals who live at a distance, and when poverty, distress, death, or any other misfortune visits the household, and when palsy places its remorseless hand upon the aged parents, come to these villages, and by industry and frugality make happy and comfortable the declining years of those they leave behind them. And now I will say, sir, that nowhere can you find, in whatever circle of intellect, fortune, or position in life, you may seek, purer morality, greater correctness of deportment, higher intellectual cultivation, or persons better understanding all the proprieties and duties of life, social or domestic, than must justly be conceded to these factory slaves. The men are equally commendable, prudent, industrious, honest and educated; they are the pride of New England, and I would like any man, sir, I care not how chivalric or bold he may be, to go among them and tell them they are slaves. Compare them with slaves, do you, sir? I will not make that comparison;—lay aside your slaves—bring forward your masters, and if the weight of intelligence, education, and everything else that elevates the human character is not on the side of these despised factory operatives, then your masters will be found a superior class to any whom I have ever had the honor to behold. Sir, I do not know of any population, North or South, with whom they will not compare most favorably, in all that is worthy of emulation or commendation. Mr. Hale denied that the North sent out lecturers to preach murder to the slaves or the violation of the wives and daughters of their masters. He had been conversant with the movement in his section, and if the first letter of any such doctrine had ever been printed, he had failed to see it. They all declared that they did not, and would not, preach insurrection to the slaves; they besought them to bow with meekness to a power which they cannot resist, but at the same time to send up their earnest, united petitions for redress to that God who has declared himself the God of the oppressed. If any such society existed, as had been suggested, he knew nothing of it.

Mr. BUTLER said gentlemen, Messrs. Chase, Seward and others had avowed doctrines that could not be misunderstood; doctrines that must necessarily lead to the dismemberment of this Confederacy. The doctrine was simply this, that when the party which had been called the Free Democracy became sufficiently strong, they would not ask assistance, nor consent of slaveholders in carrying out their views. The South had never in any respect, or for any purpose desired a dissolution of the Union. The record denied such an allegation; every compromise that had been presented here, had been accepted by the South within the last few years, during which this agitation had been so great. There was a time when the South would have been willing to have settled the business, simply as a point of honor; but no, they were not to be allowed even that—they had been pressed upon continually;—the whole history of the question was one of aggression, carried on under the conviction, by the aggressors, that there was no limit to the forbearance of the South;—a forbearance only dictated by a pious reverence for the Union—and yet, notwithstanding this history, now that the South had felt compelled to speak out and show that their forbearance had limit, they were called upon not to be excited; they were told to be quiet, while the torch of the incendiary was placed to their houses to destroy them. For one, he could not sit and hear sentiments expressed, calculated to degrade the South, and not, in behalf of himself and constituents, express their reprobation He asked where the slaves, when freed, found a hospitality equal to that they found at home? He referred to the case of John Randolph's emancipated slaves, who, he said, were driven out of the State of Ohio at the point of the bayonet.

Mr. CHASE interposed and said, that Randolph's slaves were now living in peace within the State of Ohio although that State desired a homogenous population, she drives no sufferers from her borders at the point of the bayonet.

Mr. HUNTER said, that these slaves, when they first attempted to settle in Ohio, were driven off by a company, some on horseback, others on foot, armed with pistols, swords, and other offensive weapons. If they had been permitted to return, he knew nothing about it.

Mr. BUTLER resumed.—Gentlemen had denied that societies existed whose object it was to circulate incendiary publications among the blacks. He alluded to the case of Barrett in proof of the assertion. He referred also to the incendiary publications found in Southern Post-offices.

Mr. HALE.—Will the Senator say whether those documents were directed to blacks?

Mr. BUTLER.—They were directed to just such white men as you [Laughter.] Persons who, coming from the Free States to live among us, are traitors to the Institutions under which they have elected to live.

Mr. JEFFERSON DAVIS rose to reply to Mr. Hale. Was it indeed true that the gentleman represented such a constituency as he had described, and upon whom he had passed so high an eulogy, and that in all this aggression upon the rights of the South, this insult, this disregard of the feelings of others, he truly represented so enlightened a constituency! The Senator had said he knew of no society at the North that sent out inflammatory, incendiary and exciting appeals to the slave—very well, if they did not, the South did, and the ignorance of Northern gentlemen was unaccountable. They all knew of the New York Anti-Slavery Society, which sends out more documents probably, than even the Senate of the United States. He also proceeded to depict the aggressions upon the South, and said, that they knew their rights, feel their wrongs, and will maintain those rights at every hazard. If gentlemen were to come here to insult one section of the Union, to distract and dissever it; if they were here to bring about a civil war, here then let the first battle be fought. [Excitement.] Let those gentlemen who were exciting and agitating to that end, first taste its fruits. As to this motion to print, he would only say, that no matter however offensive and unjust, insulting and untrue, or treasonable the resolutions, he would vote for the printing of them. But as the Legislature of Vermont had directed them to be sent there, as private instructions to their Senators, he could not consent to print them.

Mr. PHELPS expressed his conviction that he could vindicate these resolutions of the Legislature of Vermont, and requested that the subject might go over till to-morrow, when we would express his views.

On motion by Mr. CASS the Senate went into Executive Session, and soon after adjourned till Monday.

On Monday the 14th, Mr. Douglass submitted the following resolution which lies over.

Resolved, That the Committee on the District of Columbia be instructed to enquire into the expediency of retroceding to the State of Maryland that portion of said District which is not embraced in the corporate limits of the city of Washington; and also into

Poetry.

For the Standard.

THE SPIRIT OF REFORM.

BY S. A. BARRETT.

THERE is a Spirit, nobler far
Than ever led the van of War,
A peaceful Spirit, pure and free,
(Misnomer'd Infidelity,)
Which leads the van of human mind
Against the errors of mankind;
Against the powers of Prejudice,
Against the olden haunts of Vice,
Against the blind, benighted train
Of Superstition's dark domain,
Against the myriad hosts of Wrong,
Time-honor'd as they are, and strong.

It is that *Spirit of Reform*,
Which quails not at the Bigot's storm,
But presses onward, valiantly,
With steady purpose, bold and high,
And dares defend the *true and right*,
Regardless of the tyrants' might;
Regardless of the axe or wheel,
The dungeon, scaffold, or the steel;
Regardless of the scorn of men,
Of truthless tongue, or poisoned pen;
Regardless of all things, whatever,
That would impede its high endeavor.

That noble Spirit wanders now,
Beside the press, beside the plow;
Within the student's lonely room,
In lowly cot and lordly dome.
It strides thro' legislative halls—
Its footsteps shake earth's capitols,
And echo thro' the homes of men
Like Zions trumpet, blown agen!
It mounts the pulpit—and, anon,
Ye list its deep, impassioned tone;
Unlike the olden tones ye heard,
There's inspiration in each word;
Something of *Progress, Science, Truth*,
Which startles Age, and teaches Youth.
It speaks to man what man should hear,
Nor fans his hope, nor wakes his fear,
But holds before his mental view
Whate'er is tangible and true,
And points the path to human bliss,
So plainly that he scarce may miss;
For, lit by Reason's heavenly ray,
No mystery obscures the way.

Whatever stands within its path,
It sweeps away—but not in wrath;
Its mission is *the good of all:*
If, in its course, a church should fall,
A school of science may arise
Where fell the seeming sacrifice,
And Learning spread her grateful store,
Where bigots robb'd the poor before.
Or, where a school is swept away,
A church-spire may reflect the day,
And God's own truths be freely given,
To lead his children up to heaven.

Of form irradiate and fair,
This Spirit wanders everywhere;
Where'er the *Press*, unfetter'd—free—
Impulsive, favors Liberty;
Where'er the *Tongue*, with God-like power,
Aids Truth, in Faction's stormy hour;
Its omnipresent voice-tones fall
Like Jove's own thunders, awing all!

'Tis in each action, thought, and word,
By which the world's deep pulse is stirr'd
To renovated life anew;
By which the keys of mind are taught
To vibrate to the touch of thought—
Thought, which impels the *right* and *true*.
It paced the cell with Socrates,
It trod the shore of Galilee,
Impell'd the Mayflower o'er the seas,
And nerved Columbia to be free!
It breaks the prisons' massive bars.
It quells the nations' cruel wars,
It hurls the gloomy scaffold low,
And to the friend converts the foe.
Its course is onward, ever on—
No earthly power can bar its way:
It treads the world froom zone to zone—
No limitation to its sway.
Its agent is the human mind,
Determin'd, dauntless—firm and free;
Its aim, to give to all mankind
Truth, Freedom, and Equality.

Miscellany.

From Sharpe's London Journal.

A GOSSIP ON EPIGRAMS.

"ONE DAY in Christ Church meadows walking,
Of poetry and such things talking,
Says Ralf, a merry wag,
'An epigram if just and good,
In all its circumstances should
Be like a jelly-bag.'

'Your smile is trite and true,
But how dost make it out?' said Hugh.
'Qouth Ralph,' I'll tell thee, friend;
Make it at top, both wide and fit,
To hold a budget-full of wit,
And point it at the end.'"

There has been some discussion on this subject.—Some maintain that an epigram like an arrow, should carry its sting at the point; whilst others contend that the thought should be equally diffused through the whole. The matter, however, is of little consequence. Each method may have its advantages.—The first may afford room for a more pungent stroke of wit; the second may demand more powers of poetry; but wether this be or be not true we shall not meddle with it, for our object at present is simply to string together a few of the best, and simplest, and shortest epigrams which occur to us—those which seem to convey in the happiest manner the thoughts they intend to express. In some, however, the point consists in the absence of thought; and one in particular may be quoted in which the whole pith is contained in the want of purpose:—

"Those epigrams you must commend
That with a turn least thought of end;
Then sure a tip-toe one you'll call
This which concludes with—none at all."

Epigrams have generally been designed to satirize, to compliment, or to convey a pun in verse. The first species affords most room for wit, the second for pleasant delicacy, whilst the third is usually grafted on one or other of the two former. We shall commence with the complimentary kind, which is susceptible of a minute classification. First among these, of course, is woman's beauty, which has drawn from witty pens scores of epigrammatic panegyrics, of which among the most delicate we remember is one written by Sir Thomas Erskine when on a visit to Lady Payne. He was much indisposed, and she begged him to retire; he obeyed, but returned soon with this couplet written on a leaf:—

"'Tis true I am ill, but I need not complain—
He never knew *pleasure* who never knew *Payne*."

This was applicable to the lady's beauty, wit, and all other good qualities, and is admirable at once for the happy play upon words the richness of the compliment, and the terseness with which so great a truth is conveyed.

There are some epigrams, however, which apply only to personal charms. A flatterer will seize on every occasion to speak his adulation, and the author of the following lines selected an excellent opportunity. Seeing some snow melt on a woman's breast he said:—

"Those envious flakes come down in haste,
To prove her heart less fair;
Grieving to find themselves surpass'd,
Dissolv'd into a tear."

The idea here expressed was fine, as the occasion was legitimate. But another admirer of beauty, anxious to compliment a young girl, selected the only fault she possessed as the subject of his panegyric. She was youthful, handsome, amiable, and well-bred, and the only exception that could be taken against her was a singular habit which she possessed of exclaiming, whenever annoyed or surprised, "The devil!" Upon this it was said:—

"See round her lips the ready devils fly,
Mix with her words, and bask beneath her eye;
Pleas'd that so sweet a station should be given,
They half forget they ever fell from heaven."

From the innumerable specimens which have been gathered together on this subject we have selected these three as differing in character, and good of their kind. After these follow epigrams complimenting literary abilities, which are equally numerous and varied. Most readers will remember Dryden's exalted opinion, conveyed in a magnificent stanza, of Milton's poetical powers. It was perhaps an exaggerated, but it was certainly a noble compliment; too well known to need insertion here.

Pope, when he designed to pay court to the Earl of Chesterfield, conveyed an idea of the nobleman's brilliant qualities, not by enumerating them, not by direct panegyric, nor even by allusion, but by writing with the Earl's diamond pencil-case on a glass,

"Accept a miracle instead of wit,
See two dull lines by Stanhope's pencil writ."

Painters also have secured their share of epigrammatic adulation, and Varelst was particularly fortunate in securing the approbation of Mr. Prior, who could, as well as most men, pass an encomium of the flattering, and yet of the simplest kind. His epigram is not remarkable for expression, except in the last line. In other verses by other authors we find Aphrodite mistaking the painted figure of a woman for her own image reflected from the canvass, the birds of the air deceived into the idea that the picture was a reality, and endeavoring to pluck the fruit from its flat surface; but here the goddess Flora is represented interrupting Varelst, who was engaged in painting a flower, and seeing him at fault, snatches the pencil from his hand,

"And finishing the piece she smiling said,
Behold *one work* of mine which ne'er shall fade."

If, however, women, poets, and painters, have found panegyrists among the epigrammatists, so also have they found among them the severest critics. Beauty could supply no pretence for censure: but when art is employed to supply the defects of nature, we have numerous specimens of this species of satire, some of them as pointed as they are severe.

But this is not an agreeable subject. We pass it by and proceed to poets, who have been made the mark of many a volley of epigrammatic wit. It would seem that two great delusions are here discoverable—the poets appear to believe that no man is talented who cannot write verses, whilst the public think none can be a fool who does not ryhme. Tragedy, comedy, epic, ode, and pastoral have all been assailed with virulence and vigor, while the sonnet is still more bitterly persecuted. Few things would appear to have afforded the world so much amusement as poets and doctors. Epics, of myriads of lines, and draughts and pills more destructive than disease itself, have formed, since time began, the constant theme of satire. If a quiet sensible character in a novel is to be bored, a poetical friend is introduced to torture him with a five act play, or a hundred verses. If the incarnation of folly and nonsense is to be painted, nothing more is needed than to depict a swain sighing out sonnets, to eyes, brows, and smiles; whilst in the list of the destroyers of the human race the physician always occupies a conspicuous place on the roll. But poets have been used with equal harshness. He must have been as cruel as Nero who said—

"Your verses are eternal, Oh! my friend,
For he that reads them, reads them to no end."

We have heard of novelists hiring apprentices to assist them with their three-volume fictions, just as sculptors employ their pupils to produce their ideas in marble. So also preachers have bought old sermons to save trouble; and at the present day more than one individual realizes a handsome income by the manufacture of sermons, discourses, political, social, and religious, with essays and poems, which he sells, we infer, by the pound. To no more intimate knowledge will we confess, for the reader may possibly be curious to learn how we procured the facts, since to know these things is generally to practise them. The custom appears, however, to be ancient; for Martial celebrates the deeds of a man who having more gold than wit, and more ambition than either, salaried certain gifted individuals to indite verses for him:—

"Paul, so fond of the name of a poet has grown,
With gold he buys verses, and calls them his own;
Go on, Master Paul, care not what the world says,
They are surely his own for which a man pays."

Broome, being employed by Pope to translate the first eight books of the Odyssey for him, it was supposed he wished this fact to be concealed; but it was noised abroad, and the hint was slily expressed in a couplet by Henly—

"Pope came off clear with Homer; but they say
Broome went before, and kindly swept the way."

The doctors, as we said, have been fiercely and constantly attacked, and perhaps the broadest and plainest expressions of opinion on their homicidal propensities may be found in the dry intimation,

"A *doctor* lately was a *captain* made—
It is a change of *title* not of *trade*."

Draughts, pills, and plasters, have ever been coupled with poison and pistol-balls; as the probe, and the lancet, and the knife, have been with the sword, bayonet, and pike. Considering all this, it is marvellous how the profession thrives so well; but this may be said of every other species of humbug, of painters especially, who continue to flourish in everything. One individual, who was as red in his taste as Ledru Rollin is said to be in his politics, was particularly fond of the hue of slaughter. He painted rosy-cheeked damsels, rosy-cheeked poets, rosy-cheeked warriors, rosy-cheeked kings, queens and princes, rosy-cheeked lovers, rosy-cheeked children, and even rosy-cheeked hangmen; whilst to dogs, horses, avalanches, and tombstones, he imparted a vermillion glow, like the light of the setting sun resting on a cloud. Even terror-stricken maidens were represented blushing from chin to brow. Dead bodies, too, were by him depicted with the ruddy bloom of health upon them,—

"Fabius, you say, is much inclin'd
Each cheek with too much *red* to fill;
The pictures only blush to find
The painter does his task so ill."

If poets, doctors, and painters, come under the epigrammatic lash, parsons must not expect to escape. Nor do they.

Such jokes are not in very good taste, so that we shall retain from quoting any, although they seem much relished. There is also another class of epigrams against which we, in common doubtless with many, if not most of our readers, must protest, namely those directed against marriage, wives, and widows. From these it would appear that all marriages are miserable, that all wives are viragos, and that all widows are anxious to be married again. One of the oldest epigrams in the English language is of this sort. It relates to a student who, with the prospect of fame and fortune before him, faced about and married:—

"Now who hath played a feater game
Since juggling first begunne;
In *knitting* of himself so fast
Himself he hath *undone*."

Of a worse species, however, are those which describe the deliverance of men from their wives, in language of much condolence for the victories of death, and congratulation to the "unfettered slave." It would be difficult to calculate whether dull preachers, homicidal doctors, or cruel poets, have formed in the aggregate the subject of so much satire as scolding wives.

"Here lies my wife—Poor Molly—let her lie;
She finds repose at last—and so do I."

Doubtless this man married again. But were we to believe these epigrammatists, it would seem their husbands never wrote panegyrics on the tombs of their wives, but left it for others to do so. The noble epitaph on Mary, Countess Dowager of Pembroke, the sister of Sir Philip Sidney, was written by Ben Johnson:—

"Underneath this marble hearse
Lies the subject of all verse,
Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother.
Death, ere thou hast kill'd another,
Fair, and learn'd, and good as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee."

And where, in all the records of these slanderous writers, do we find a husband writing on his wife's tomb:—

"Underneath this stone doth lie,
As much virtue as could die;
Which when alive did vigor give
To as much beauty as could live!"

But praise written on a gravestone is not always the genuine language of affection. It may sometimes be what the grave look of the undertaker is to the aspect of real sorrow. Therefore we may hope that some husbands do love their wives while living, and respect their memories when dead. However this may be, it would seem that before marriage, a great many complimentary things are said. The lines written by Granville under a statue of Cupid:—

"Who e'er thou art, thy lord and master see;
Thou *wast* my slave, thou *art*, or thou *shalt be*."

imply a wide dominion exercised by the sightless god. He moves men's minds to enterprises which are not always successful, and are often difficult to accomplish, as in the case of Mr. Page, an ancient beau, who, charmed by a youthful beauty, sent her a glove, expressing his feelings in these terms:—

'From glove, cut off the initial letter G,
Then Glove is Love, and that I send to thee."

The lady, who doubtless considered her youth and beauty too valuable to be bestowed on a suitor so antiquated, returned the glove with the couplet:—

"From Page cut off the initial letter P,
Then Page is Age, and that won't do for me."

The old gentleman, as tradition says, would not gather himself up in the skirts of content, but made fresh attempts to win his way to the lady's acceptance, illustrating the truth of Lord Lytleton's epigram:—

"None without hope e'er loved the brightest fair;
But love can hope where reason would despair."

To reward his perseverance, or to enjoy his wealth, the beauty, as the story proceeds to say, altered her views, forgot the lover's age, in consideration of his constancy (or his riches), and married him. If his broad lands tempted her, Lord Byron's epigrammatic axiom was verified:—

"Maidens, like moths, are ever caught by glare,
And mammon wins his way where seraphs might despair."

For the satisfaction of the reader, however, we are enabled to say that this couple lived very happily; he had no fault to accuse her of, and she had nothing to object to him, except that he was jealous; a great fault in a husband:—

To Bedlam with him! Is he sound in mind,
Who aye is seeking what he would not find?

The sweet harmony of married life suggests the harmony—inferior in sweetness—of harps and pianos, fiddles and flutes, which have not been forgotten in the list of those things chosen by the epigrammatist as the butt of his ridicule, or the subject of his compliment. Queerest among the specimens of the verse which we have collected in relation to music, is that of Swift, in relation to the feud between Handel and Bononcini:—

"Strange all this difference should be,
Twixt Tweedledum and Tweedledee."

Two pictures are suggested by the two epigrams which we shall next select. The first, by Lord Jeffrey, is that of a number of ungainly dancers, without ease or elegance, endeavoring to rival, by the harmony of their movements, the symphony of beautiful music:—

"How ill the motion with the music suits;
So once played Orpheus, and so danced the brutes."

The second is that of a number of gay folks, whose saltatorial intentions are baulked by the unskilful fiddling of a musician to whom, in wrath, some wit exclaims:—

"Orpheus played so well that he moved old Nick,
But you move nothing—but your fiddlestick."

The number of epigrams addressed by these writers on fools and fops is indeed very great, and some of them are admirable for their pungency and point. There is an excellent sarcasm in that anonymous one addressed to an individual, who, in the *Bombastes Furiosi* style, was accustomed to vaunt his own achievements, to magnify his own courage, and to accompany his boastful words by looks and gestures in accordance:—

"How kind has nature unto Boastful been,
Who gave him dreadful looks and dauntless mien;
Gave tongue to swagger, eyes to strike dismay,
And, kinder still, gave legs, to run away."

This is quietly derisive, and is vigorous and witty. Stronger, but not so full of acidity, is the following:—

"No wonder he is vain of coat and ring;
Vain of himself, he may of anything."

But there is more bitterness, with considerable wit and some philosophy, in the lines dedicated to an individual whose self-criticism was always of the most flattering kind, and whose self esteem was precisely in the inverse ratio with the esteem of others:—

"He puffs himself. Forbear to chide,
An insect vile and mean,
Must, well he knows, be magnified,
Before it can be seen."

Doubtless, our readers are as great enemies of self-laudation, as we ourselves are, and will remember some of these lines to quote in application to any of their friends whose self-esteem may outrun their modesty and exceed their worth. The practice would be attended with useful results, and might abate a prodigious nuisance. Were it in general use we might witness a diminution in the numbers of those frogs who infest our parlors and our drawing-rooms, taking up large places at tea-tables and in quadrilles, whose littleness would swell itself to the dimensions of the bull. Like their predecessors in the fable, their failure is as great as their exertions are ludicrous. Stupidity, though a great misfortune, is a less fault, but has not on that account been spared:—

"You beat your head, and fancy wit will come;
Knock as you will, there's nobody at home."

Another reverend—Dr. Codridge, (and it is surprising how epigrammatical these Drs. are,) addressed a biting remonstrance to a youthful pupil, who fancying that by study he had mastered one of the greatest problems, which still remain unsolved, had prepared a pair of wings to undertake a journey to the moon:—

"And will Volatio quit this world so soon,
And fly to his *own native place, the moon?*
'Twill serve, however, in some little stead,
That he sets out with such an *empty head*."

Those epigrams which turn chiefly on the stupidity of men at drinking parties, and of which the point consists in the remark that if the fumes of the wine will not reach the topers' *brain*, they may reach his *head*, are very numerous; but we pass them by, preferring as a last specimen of this class, to select one at once witty and good natured, of which the author is not knwn:—

"Jack eating rotten cheese did say,
'Like Samson, I my thousands slay'
'I vow,' said Roger, 'so you do,
And with the self-same weapon too.'"

We in the present day are much given to deride old and musty notions, herald's colleges, ancient glories of ancient houses, blue blood, hereditary solons, and the clap-trap by which the sage men of days gone by sought to bequeath their wisdom through succeeding generations. We begin to look on the ashes of one man with as much respect as on the ashes of another, and care very little whether the bones, amid which we pick our way in many of the pestilence-breeding metropolitan grave-yards, be the bones of a cobbler of king Alfred's time, or of a knight who sat at king Arthur's round table. Accordingly, we can respond to Prior's ridicule of "lofty lineage," "sap of ancient blood," "long lines of ancestors," contained in the epitaph written for his own tombstone:—

"Nobles and Heralds, by your leave,
Here lies the bones of Matthew Prior;
The son of Adam and of Eve,
Can Bourbon or Nassau go higher?"

Of the pert and dogmatic species few exceed in brusque wit the lines engraven on the collar of a dog belonging to a courtly personage at Kew:—

"I am his highness' dog at Kew,
Pray tell me, sir, whose dog are you?"

The question which might not have been easy, and would certainly have been unpleasant for many persons to answer, was doubtless suggested by Mr. Grantham's retort to a "great man," who asked him "whose fool he was?" "I am Mr. Grantham's fool, my lord. Whose fool are you?"

Of epigrams relating to personal peculiarities, there was an excellent one written on Mr. Tadlow, a resident in Oxford. He was very fat; so fat, indeed, and withal so heavy, as to be regarded a very miracle of a man. Observing the enormity of his bulk, and with what firmness his ponderous footsteps fell as he paced the street, Dr. Evans wrote:—

"When Tadlow walks the streets, the paviours cry,
'God bless you, sir!' and lay their rammers by."

With a few more specimens we must, for the present, conclude. Two of them relate to a period when corn was dear, and are equally admirable for the happy play on the words. The first was written by Byrom, in 1798, with reference to two lean corn-dealers, bearing the extraordinary names of Skin and Bone, who stored away immense quantities of grain, with the view of gratifying that miserable propensity which monopolists then, as in the present day, had of fattening on the starvation of others:—

"Two millers thin,
Call'd Bone and Skin,
Would starve us all or near it;
But be it known
To Skin and Bone,
That Flesh and Blood won't bear it"

The next does not celebrate the names of its heroes, but only their deeds:—

"To rob the public two contractors come,
One deals in corn, the other deals in rum;
The greater rogue 'tis hard to ascertain,
The *rogue in spirit*, or the *rogue in grain*."

Probably most of our readers have heard Sir John Harrington's pithy epigram:—

"Treason doth never prosper. What's the reason?
Why, when it prospers, none dare call it treason."

As well as that curious, anonymous one, written on the death of the Earl of Kildare:—

POET.
"Who killed Kildare; who dared Kildare to kill?"
DEATH.
"I kill'd Kildare, and dare kill whom I will."

But, perhaps, the next we shall quote is not so commonly known, although the idea it contains may be mentioned as one of the most beautiful, the most exquisitely fine, and the most original, which could be found in a poet's imagination. It describes the miracle at the marriage feast in Cana:—

"When Christ at Cana's feast, by power divine,
Inspired cold water with the warmth of wine:
'See,' cried they, while in reddening tide it gushed,
'The modest stream hath seen its Lord, and blush'd.'"

Here, except in the last line, the expression is not quite equal to the thought. But as we very frequently meet with a jewel in a paltry casket, with a lofty soul in a mean person, it is the essence which in this case we must admire, without regarding much the medium through which it is conveyed. Much as we may desire, we must not expect perfection, and this truth applies to epigrams as well as to all other sublunary things. If, however, those which we have roughly and rudely strung together, are not all equally good, and none of them perfect, still, in many of them we find sufficient merit to warrant admiration. In some, indeed, we discern a wit, a delicacy and force of expression, a keenness of point, and an acid satire of rare occurrence.

WE copy from a late No. of *The People* the principal part of a letter of Joseph Barker to his brother, written during his recent visit to this country, and giving very frankly and clearly the impression made upon his mind at first view,—and therefore interesting. A more familiar acquaintance with the character of our people and institutions may perhaps modify his opinions in some respects:

LETTER TO BENJAMIN BARKER.

I have not heard from my brother John,* but I have told you how happy Samuel appears to be, and how happy he declares himself to be. Samuel would not reside in England on any account. You could not bribe him to give up his farm and spend the remainder of his time in England by any sum of money you could offer. And John has expressed himself in a similar way. A man can hardly fail to be happy here, but through his own fault.

How you would feel, if you were in this country, I cannot tell: but my opinion is, that you would feel as joyous and as happy as either John or Samuel. Nay, my opinion is, that you would feel happier. Of course I may be mistaken; but this is my opinion: it is my firm conviction. You could hardly *fail* to be happy. And I am thoroughly persuaded you will never be happy in England. I should never be happy in England myself. The time is past for that. So far I as myself am concerned, my choice is made, my mind is decided. I shall, if I live at all, live HERE. I shall, if permitted, end my days in America. I will do what I can for my native land. I will write and publish, and, if permitted, will even come over after settling here, and lecture for a while. But HERE, in the United States of America, will be my abode. HERE, in the United States of America, will be my HOME. And HERE, in these United States, I trust shall be my final resting place. Farewell to old England. It was the first of the nations once. It might have been the first of the nations still. But the tyrant Aristocrats have held it back. I do not say that the country is worse than it ever was before; but I do say this, that its rulers have held it back from improving. When the people would have made it richer, better, and happier, its rulers have always checked them. They have sacrificed the interests and the power, the glory, the greatness, and the strength of the country to their own vile interests. They have sealed their country's doom. They have made it at best a secondary nation. By the wrongs they have heaped upon Ireland,—by the ruin they have caused in that rich and beautiful land, they have made themselves a by-word for injustice and inhumanity throughout the earth. Never again can England rise to its former position among the nations. It is doomed. It is now but a secondary nation. It will never, in my opinion, be anything more. It may not be even a secondary nation long without a mighty change. It is sinking rapidly Of late it has sunk tremendously. America is rapidly rising. It is increasing in wealth and power, in greatness and glory every year. Farewell, I say, to England. I was born there, I was reared there, And many of my friends still live there: and some of them sleep there. My heart, by a thousand cords, is attached to the scenes of my childhood, to the haunts of my youth. It was there I first felt the consciousness of life. It was there that my thoughts first began to stir. It was there that my affections first began to unfold themselves. It was there that my intellect first developed itself. It was there, among its fields, and by its streams, and along its broad highways, that I first began to read, to learn, and to appreciate the great and solemn principles of truth and duty. It was there that my soul from year to year expanded and drank in its earlier lessons. It was there my youthful memory stored itself. It was there my affections grew and found their proper objects. It was there I loved. It was there I sighed. It was there I dreamed. It was there I wept. It is there I grappled with error. It is there I struggled with vice. It was there I felt my weakness. It was there I learnt my strength. It was there I made my discoveries. There, among its fields and woods, upon its hills and in its dales, on its secluded footpaths, and its broad highways, I first conversed with nature and with God; and gained my first acquaintance with myself and with my kind. It was there that my hopes and my fears had birth. It was there that my plans and my projects were formed. It was there, in short, that I lived, and till lately, my all, or nearly my all was there. A world of thoughts, a world of feelings, a world of recollections, are associated with the memory of that wonderful but melancholy land. I am naturally a lover of my country, a lover of my kindred, and a lover of my home. And I have found, as yet no insurmountable obstruction to success in anything of a personal nature that I have set myself to accomplish. I could myself, if I chose, not only live, but grow rich in England. Still, duty seems to bid me leave it, and adopt another country as my home. Yes, duty seems to bid me leave it, and make my home in this great and growing republic. I only hope I may live to see my family again, and be spared to bring them over the ocean safely. I always feel in danger on the ocean. It is no light trial to have before me the prospect of having twice to cross it. Whatever it may be to others, it is an awful thing to me. Still, whether the danger be great or little, my mind is decided, and it must be encountered. If I live to accomplish my object, I shall be satisfied. If I die in the attempt, I shall die in the discharge of my duty, believing that all will be still for the best.

* * * * * *

I am, thy affectionate brother,
JOSEPH BARKER.

P. S.—I forgot to state when speaking about the cheapness of building in America, &c., that people can get wood here exceedingly cheap. In some cases they can get it for nothing. The railway people would get the timber they used for *sleepers*, and the timber they used in building their station houses, for nothing. Even here, where the timber is scarcer, and the population greater than in many other places, a man can buy an acre of superior timber,—an acre of the very best timber, for seven or ten dollars. This enables people, even when they give their men good wages, to build for comparatively little. And you must understand, that nearly all buildings here are of wood.

I also ought to have remarked, that I see no reason why a people should be so generally, and to such a great extent, dependent on foreign trade. Why cannot people in general, be content with a home trade? Why might not the people of Ohio, for instance, do well without much foreign trade? What should hinder them from being complete, or nearly so, within themselves? Why should not the agriculturalists supply the manufacturers with food and fruits, with the oil, the timber, and the hides they need; and the manufacturers supply the agriculturalists with clothing, household utensils, farming implements, &c.? And what should hinder the people of a State thus complete within themselves from always doing well? What should hinder the people of a State thus complete in itself, from having a regular trade, profitable alike to agriculturalists and manufacturers? If people wish to be enormously rich,—if they wish to gain their millions, they must pass the bounds of local trade and neighborly exchange. But if men are content with enough—if men are content with wealth in moderation, they may, in such a State as this, or in any of the free United States, be as happy as men can reasonably desire to be, and as rich as can in any way contribute to their happiness. If the people of such a State as Ohio chose to labor for each other and to supply each other's wants, I cannot conceive how anything could impoverish them but unfriendly seasons and consequent failures in their crops. And these are calamities little to be dreaded here; calamities which very seldom happen. I am not aware that anything like a general failure in the crops has ever happened in this State, since the days in which it was first settled to the present time. And even a failure in the crops would not need to impoverish or seriously injure or afflict such a State as this. If the people were so disposed, they might always have a sufficiency of all things needful to their support and comfort beforehand to serve for two or three years. The surplus of some years would thus enable them to live in comfort and in plenty through two or three years of scarcity. And succeeding years of plenty would enable them with ease again to increase their stock, and provide against other years of scarcity or failure. The way to wealth and comfort is as plain as need be. All that is wanted is, that men should use their common sense a little, and act in accordance with the simple principles of justice, temperance, and humanity.

I said that books, newspapers, and periodicals were cheaper and more abundant here than in England. I ought also to have added, that America has produced some of the ablest writers in almost every department of science and literature. Where is there a better theologian or moralist than Theodore Parker? And where will you find a more truthful, a more touching, or a more beautiful writer than Channing? We have a better poet in Charles Mackay, and a better poetess in Mary Howitt, than America has produced. But both Mackay and Mary Howitt are more American than English in their spirit and sentiments. And if America cannot boast an equal living poet to Mackay, or an equal living poetess to Mary Howitt, it can boast of many superior men in certain other departments of literature to what England is able to boast.

The Americans, at present, are paying a great deal of attention to agriculture. They are publishing a great variety of clever and interesting works on this important subject. Many, too, are exerting themselves to promote the settlement of as many people upon the soil as possible, and bring into cultivation the still uncultured lands. You know what Gerrit Smith has done. He is still at work, endeavoring to increase the number of free and independent farmers. Horace Greeley is laboring for the same object, though in a somewhat different way. There is a growing and spreading impression in this country, that the greater the number of people settled upon the land, the better will it be for all classes. While many are laboring to promote the settlement of the people upon the land, others are laboring to promote the improvement of agriculture and horticulture. They are publishing accounts of the best systems of farming in use in different countries. They are describing the best cultivated farms in the country. They are laboring to cure the agriculturalists of their slovenliness and negligence, and to induce them to make their farms as beautiful as the most beautiful farms on earth. And agricultural reform is making its way. The settlement of English farmers with skill and capital, is greatly improving the face of the country in many parts. It has produced its effects even here. It will produce still greater and happier effects in the future.

I ought also to have noticed the provision which is made for the education of the people of the United States. As you are aware, the Government have set aside a certain proportion of all the land in the States for the support of teachers and the promotion of education. The children of the Americans can be taught gratis in every part of the Union. They can be taught, too, in a superior way to that in which children are taught in England. As I intimated in a former communication, the school books which are used in this country are far superior to any I have seen in England; and the way of teaching is simpler and more natural.

Almost every reform of importance makes its way more rapidly here than in England. See how the cause of temperance triumphed in America! How soon it stopped the greater part of the distilleries and breweries! How soon it rendered drunkenness, and even moderate drinking, unpopular, almost intolerable! See too how rapidly phrenological principles have been diffused throughout the American community! The American phrenologists have circulated an incalculably greater number of phrenological works and phrenological periodicals than the English phrenologists have ever circulated. The English have got the start of the Americans with respect to the abolition of negro Slavery, because the English slaves were far away, in a separate community. The evil was not present in England, to injure the feelings, and imperceptibly deprave the minds, as it has been in America. But the Americans will not be long, in my opinion, before they overtake and outstrip Great Britain in this respect. It will not be long, in my opinion, before the Americans will annihilate the accursed institution of Slavery, and do more justice to the colored race, than the English yet have done.

The Americans are in advance of the English in theological knowledge. America can boast a greater number of sects; but it has also a greater number of enlightened and liberal-minded men, who are free from sectarian prejudices and sectarian follies, and who place religion in the love of truth and the love of God, in the love of goodness and the love of man. America is before England in science generally.

It is before England too, in the useful arts. The Americans not only make a freer and a larger use of foreign inventions, but they do themselves excel in invention. We owe the electric telegraph, and some other important inventions, and numbers of improvements on inventions, to the Americans.

I have said, somewhere, that the Americans are a kinder, a more hospitable, and a more generous people than the English. And this is a fact. And it is easy to account for it. The Americans can *afford* to be more hospitable, more generous than the English. They are better off. The English are born with as kindly feelings, and with as generous natures; but they are reared and nurtured in want. They are afflicted with want, or tortured with the fear of want, all their life through. They cannot obtain sufficient to support themselves, much less to bestow continued favors on their friends and neighbors. They have to work beyond reason and beyond measure to obtain the little they have. They live so near to starvation, that they never can be certain that starvation shall not be their lot, sooner or later. This horrible and unnatural state of things renders it impossible for them to be liberal. And inability to exercise liberality prevents the growth or development of liberal feelings. It is *giving* that makes it easy and pleasant to men to give. It is giving, when we are able to give, that cherishes and strengthens, that developes and perfects our natural feeling of generosity and philanthropy. One of the most horrible things connected with the state of society in England is, that it tends to make even the poor inhuman; it tends to make them unfeeling and even unjust to one another. Three-fifths of the people in England are regularly in want. *Three-fifths* of the people in England are born and bred, are reared and nurtured, in want. They seldom or never obtain a sufficiency of the good and pleasant things which God has provided in such abundance. Butter and honey, new milk or good cheese, the richer fruits and vegetables, they scarcely ever taste. Or if they taste them, they only get sufficient to make them feel how rich and pleasant they are, and how great a calamity,—how severe a hardship, it is to be denied their share of this abundance of a generous Providence. Hence they live in eternal discontent. They regard the rich with envy and hatred. They plunder their orchards and their gardens. They rob their stables and their hen-roosts. They rob and plunder even for waste and wantonness; so reckless and so desperate has their misery made them. Here, all have plenty. They have plenty from their youth. The poorest have plenty. The poorest eat and drink to their fill even of what are regarded in England as luxuries. The poorest hereabouts, even the poorest children, can have fruit and vegetables, butter and honey, milk and cheese, to their fill. You can buy different kinds of fruit, and different kinds of vegetables and grain, at the proper season, for a trifle. If you are too poor to buy, you can beg as much fruit, in plentiful seasons, as you would wish to eat. The Bible speaks about the dogs eating the crumbs which fall from the children's table; but in England, the children have only the crumbs which fall from the dogs' table. While here, even the dogs and the swine live on productions, which the majority of the English working-classes and the children are hardly permitted to taste. When men are sinking in the watch, they will fight with each other for the splinter of a wreck. Even brethren and friends, even parents and children, if books and stories are to be believed, have forgotten their natural feelings of affection in the hour of imminent peril, and battled amid the dashing waves for the most desperate chance of salvation. It is something like this in England. The people are sinking in want and wretchedness. The waves of poverty are swallowing them up. The poorest are dying of want; and those that are next to them are living in *fear* of death. And even the middle and richer classes are sinking into poverty. And amidst this general danger and wide spread ruin, they fight with each other for the means of salvation as drowning men for an oar, a rafter, or the splinter of a wreck. They forget their natural affection. Their kindly feelings die. Their selfish feelings, stimulated by fear and desperation, acquire unnatural vigor, and give a dark and revolting aspect to the general character of society. It is time to leave such a country. It is time, when we find ourselves in the midst of such an horrible state of things, to transfer ourselves to other lands; to place ourselves in another and a better state of things, and to begin the world afresh. Here, people care for the fatherless and the widow as they care for their own relations. They care for the sick and helpless. They care for the stranger that comes among them. My brothers and friends that are settled here, with whom I come in contact, and all, in fact, agree in their testimony on this subject. The generosity of the people here, at times, gets abused. Now and then a corrupt and unprincipled man imposes on their unsuspecting generosity, and thus awakens fears and misgivings in their minds with respect to others; but notwithstanding this, they still look with compassion on the helpless and poor; they still show regard for the stranger. They still reach out their hand to protect and relieve the widow and the fatherless. They still make use of their superabundant wealth, in relieving unavoidable want, and in ministering to the comfort and pleasure of their surrounding neighbors and friends. Why in the world should men live in a country where things are so mismanaged as to corrupt and pervert the feelings of humanity, and make society a den of thieves, or a hell of devils, when they have the opportunity of living in a state of society where political and social influences tend to expand and liberalize the soul, and to cherish and strengthen those generous and godlike feelings and affections which are the glory, the beauty, the perfection, and the bliss of the human race.

And the state of society in America is friendly to religion as well as to generosity and philanthrophy. You recollect that burst of thankfulness in John's last letter. He had been walking through his fields, looking at his stock, and rambling beneath the shade of his own tall trees, when, in the fullness of his glad heart, his tongue burst forth in praise and thanksgiving to God. The feelings which John expressed are feelings which naturally rise in the mind of the enlightened and independent American farmer. Men here have something to be grateful for. They have the means of obtaining sufficient to supply their natural wants. They have the privilege of tasting not only the *common*, but the *richer* gifts of God's great bounty. They are able to obtain, not only the absolute necessaries, but the comforts and innocent luxuries of life. They can breathe the fresh air; they can stretch their free limbs in cheerful and healthful play; they can see the glorious sun, and find leisure to gaze on the bright blue sky; they can hear the breeze among their own tall trees; they can see the waving corn in their own rich fields; they can produce sufficient for their support and comfort without excessive labor; they can live in their own habitations; they can walk in their own fields; they can rejoice in the blossoms and fruits of their own orchards and gardens; they have plenty for the present, and they feel no fear with respect to the future; they have enough and to spare, and they have a heart to bestow their abundance on their kind and generous neighbors, and the pleasure to receive from their kind and generous neighbors, a cheerful acknowledgment in return. And thus they live. The heavens above them, the earth beneath them, the waving trees and corn around them, the rising hills and the spreading valleys, all smile on them. All nature smiles on them. All nature is in harmony. All nature is in harmony with them, and they are in harmony with nature, and in harmony with God and with each other. How can they *help* being thankful? They have something to be thankful for. I do not say that the poor in England have not something to be thankful for. I believe they have. But they have not those things which so naturally make men *feel* thankful. The more enlightened or philosophical portion may believe or hope that the wrongs they suffer, and the trials they endure, and the horrible pangs which they sometimes feel, shall in some way work for their good. And this belief or hope may help to make them not only *patient*, but even *thankful*. But it is hard to be thankful or to feel pleased with that which causes such horrible and grievous pain. God never meant his children to live forever in such a wretched and miserable condition as that in which the working-classes of Great Britain and Ireland are living. He never expected the half-fed and untaught man to give thanks for wrongs and insults, for want and pain, for ruin and starvation. He formed us so, that want and pain, and loss and danger, naturally alarm us. He formed us so, that gain and happiness, success and plenty, and joy and hope, were needful for the growth of grateful emotions, and to the free and involuntary offering of praise and thanksgiving. And it is foolish, if not even wicked, to remain in a state of society so terribly at war with our nature and horribly fatal to our generous emotions as that of Great Britain and Ireland. The toiling millions are shut out from nature's table. They are forbidden even to eat the grain which they themselves produce, or to taste of the varieties of fruit which grow on the trees which they themselves have reared and cultured. Let those endure such horrible irregularities, such awful violations of the laws of God and of nature, that choose; *I* will live, if I live at all, where men are more equal,—where the bounties of Providence are better shared, and where the burd